

THE STUDENT WORLD

UT OMNES UNUM SINT

The Meaning of the Nation

THIRD QUARTER, 1941

THE STUDENT WORLD

Serial Number 133

The Meaning of the Nation

	Page
Editorial	
The Federation and the Nation	R. C. M. 161
The Nation in the Bible	<i>S. C. M. in Unoccupied France</i> 165
The Emergence of the Nation	R. G. Riddell 177
A United Europe	S. B. 184
Unity in Britain: For What?	J. L. Cottle 190
The True Church Within a Nation	A Layman 202
The Nation and Control of the Machine	E. H. Burgmann 212
The Editor's Travel Diary	R. C. M. 217
The Student World Chronicle	
An Indian Student Opinion	226
Chinese Students in Their Baptism of Fire	David Cheng 226
The Orphaned Missions	A. L. Warnshuis 229
Book Reviews	232
Notes on Contributors and Articles	

This issue of "The Student World" was published in New York, N. Y. Four issues annually: January, April, July and October. The price of a single annual subscription, post free, is 5s.; 4.00 marks; 5.00 Swiss francs; \$1.50. Single Copies 2s.; 1.20 mark; 1.50 Swiss franc; \$0.50. Subscriptions may be sent to any of the addresses given below:

Australia:	Student Christian Movement, 182, Collins Street, Melbourne.
Canada:	Student Christian Movement, 1164, Bay Street, Toronto 5.
China:	Kiang Wen-Han, 131, Museum Road, Shanghai.
Great Britain and Ireland:	Miss Dorothy Jackson, Moel Llys, Kirby Muxloe, Leicester.
India, Burma and Ceylon:	Student Christian Movement, "Scaibac," Jamna, Allahabad.
New Zealand:	Student Christian Movement, 153, Featherston Street, Wellington, C. I.
South Africa:	F. J. Liebenberg, P. O. Box 25, Stellenbosch, Cape Province.
U. S. A.:	Student Y.M.C.A., 347 Madison Avenue, New York City. Student Y.W.C.A., 600 Lexington Avenue, New York City. S.V.M., 156 Fifth Avenue, New York City, or to the general offices of the World's Student Christian Federation, 13, rue Calvin, Geneva, Switzerland (Postal Cheque Account No. I. 3192), and 1164 Bay Street, Toronto, Canada.

THE STUDENT WORLD

A quarterly magazine of the World's Student Christian Federation

ROBERT C. MACKIE, *Editor*

Temporary addresses of the Editor, 347 Madison Avenue, New York,
N. Y., U.S.A., and 1164 Bay Street, Toronto 5, Ontario, Canada.

VOLUME XXXIV

Third Quarter, 1941

Number 3

EDITORIAL

The Federation and the Nation

The World's Student Christian Federation is dependent upon the fact of the nation. We are a federation of national movements, not a world movement. Our genius from the start has been in recognising that Student Christian Movements would have different characteristics in different national settings and must not be expected to conform to one type. Our legitimate pride has been in the number of national movements affiliated to the Federation, and the total number of countries in which there is student work related to it. Our committees and conferences are carefully made up of representatives of national movements and groups. We have struggled with the interpretation of tongues. The "national night", when we wear our costumes and sing our songs, is always one of the most impressive features of any such gathering. Those of us who were at Nunspeet 1939 cannot lose the haunting memory of that evening when we stood in the darkness above the little lake, and a new member of the W.S.C.F. staff, so soon to step into the Maginot Line, and later into silence, led our singing of national songs. In an ecumenical conference we rejoice that God has set His Church in so many nations.

But this acceptance of the nation as a unit does not mean that the Federation slavishly follows political alignments and decisions. We recognise no empires; the movements of India, Burma and Cey-

lon, and of the Netherlands Indies are movements in their own right. No one would ever think of communicating with Augustine Ralla Ram through Billy Greer! Has it occurred to some of you that the majority of the members of the S.C.M. of Great Britain and Ireland are belligerents, but that some of them are neutrals? There are certain national movements in Europe, which by reason of political events can no longer carry on their normal activities, but none of us would think of altering the Directory of the Federation in accordance with the present arrangement of Europe. Indeed we are more definitely conscious of the reality of some national groups, because officially they do not exist. And always amongst us there is that glorious anomaly of the Russian Student Christian Movement in emigration. (How long in emigration?) One of its beloved leaders, the photographer royal, the court jester, of the Federation, whose wisdom and charity have meant so much to us, said after Ephesians 2:19 had been read in a service of worship: "That is our text, the text of the exiles. We are no more strangers and foreigners, but fellow citizens with the saints, and of the household of God." The French S.C.M. Bible study speaks of the division of men into nations as an important, essential, yet transitory fact. One of the functions of the Christian Church, and therefore of the Federation, is to discover wherein the glory and honour of the nations consist, and to bring them into the Kingdom.

On the relation of the nation to the Kingdom, some things were said at the General Committee of the W.S.C.F. in 1938, just before the fateful meeting of national statesmen at Munich. Here we read:

"We believe in the positive contribution of the nation, and desire to be rooted in the life of our nations. But while nationality distinguishes us, it should not separate us, but be used in accordance with God's will for the world. We must consequently resist in the name of Christ any tendency in nationalism to claim the whole loyalty of men; the domination of one people by another; and the appeal to military aggression as an arbiter of national claims, with its consequent wanton destruction of helpless people and cultural institutions.

"In opposing these evils, we recognise that we share in responsibility for them, and for the injustice of many international policies; for the national self-assertion and the inequitable distribution of the world's resources which are underlying causes of international conflict. So we must take action in repentance and in a spirit of willingness to sacrifice even our national privileges."

A natural response to a reading of that statement on the part of many would be to say: "Well, well, and so it has all happened. And we can name the villains. Responsibility and repentance are all

right; but the main point is 'we must take action!' " And so indeed we have; thousands of students are fighting, or preparing to fight, on land, on sea, and in the air; thousands are prisoners; thousands study not for themselves but for national salvation; thousands await the time to act; many have died in action. And the editor would be the last to deny that there is an issue in the world which must be decided; and in that decision we must take our place, even though in the process our nations are torn apart.

There are one or two questions, however, to which as readers of this journal we might particularly give attention. What do we mean by a "positive contribution"? What do we mean by "being rooted"? How do we measure our "loyalty"? Some student groups in nations which stand outside, or back from, the immediate struggle do not seem to have done much reflection on these questions, nor even to think them very important. Some student groups in nations which are in deep suffering or distress, seem to be doing so much reflection that they have spiritualised the whole conception of their nation, and given it a new sort of ethos and morality of its own. Some student groups in nations which are fighting for their lives slip into the attitude of regarding their independent national existence as one of God's main objectives. Some student groups persist in the most pathetically useless of all courses, namely that of viewing these questions cynically. And yet, on the whole, there is an amazing amount of Christian sanity in the statements of national groups for which to thank God. Surely now is the time for us all to do what the French S.C.M. has done, quite apart from whether we agree with their method or conclusions. That is our plain duty as Christians.

There are further opportunities which present themselves to us just because of our membership in the World's Student Christian Federation. A letter came the other day, which is typical of many others, saying: "During the past two years I have appreciated the journal very much, as one of the few means of understanding the different outlooks or problems of the Christians who do not live in

Isolation does not appear to affect those who have experience of the Federation. They have got something there!—a literal bond of fellowship with other members which is sustained, God knows how, even if hampered by distance and ignorance." What use can we make of this "experience of the Federation", this "bond of fellowship", this "something there"?

Firstly we still have a chance of seeing ourselves as others see us. "Experience of the Federation", even if we are out of communication, ought to help us to understand how some of our national characteristics, present attitudes, and actions will seem to other people. The

pitfall, which Jim Cottle indicates, of thinking that "Britain (or France, or China or the United States) is different", can be avoided if we recollect that other people perhaps do not see that remarkable difference. It is other nations which see that what we imagine to be "rights" are really "privileges". As good citizens we all want to have a true view of our nation, so that we can help to create and make effective its national contribution. You can only get a true view if you look from outside as well as from inside; and the Federation ought to help there.

Secondly, because of this "experience of the Federation", we cannot dissociate ourselves from the life of any other nation, no matter how roundly we may condemn the action of its present leaders, or the people themselves. The Federation, just because it is made up of national movements, helps us to realise that we share responsibility for evils, not only on the part of our own nation, but on the part of others. There is a striking passage in a recent book, by Richard Niebuhr:*

"When men enter into a new community they not only share the present life of their companions but also adopt as their own the past history of their fellows. So immigrants do not become true members of the American community until they have learned to call the Pilgrims and the men of 1776 their fathers and to regard the torment of the Civil War as somehow their own. . . . Through Christ we become immigrants into the empire of God which extends over all the world and learn to remember the history of that empire, that is of men in all times and places, as our history."

"No more strangers and foreigners" but "immigrants into the Empire of God". Can the Federation help us to go right through with that experience? One of the most moving stories that has come from a shut-in and suffering corner of Europe is of a Federation leader gathering her friends in the district together, not to consider the plight of their nation on this occasion, but to talk about, and share their precious memories of, other nations with which now they had absolutely no connection at all. If you look at that from one angle you will see a completely sentimental escape from present realities, if you look at it from another angle you will see "glory in the Church by Christ Jesus, throughout all ages, world without end".

* * * * *

The Fourth Quarter, 1941, will be entitled "Things Old and New: A Survey" and will contain interesting articles about South America, and a report of the life of the W.S.C.F. in the eventful three year period since 1938, when the General Committee last met.

*The Meaning of Revelation. Published by The Macmillan Company.

The Nation in the Bible

THE S. C. M. IN UNOCCUPIED FRANCE

"The Lord our God is one Lord . . ." (St. Mark 12:29)

"Render unto Caesar the things which are Caesar's; and unto God the things that are God's."

(St. Matt. 22:21)

For the Christian who acknowledges one Lord, what is involved in belonging to one *Fatherland*, and in sincere obedience to the State?

What must be the attitude of any Christian Youth Movements in the country?

What form is this education for citizenship to take, since it is to be *our* charge?

Without any question, it is God who must teach us our duty in this matter. No domain of our life must escape His influence, and in the same way our opinions cannot legitimately arise from our own predilections, or from the opportunity of the moment. He is Lord of our thoughts as well as of our hearts, of our land as well as of our individual lives; and we must turn to His word to learn how the Christian should regard and should serve the country to which by God's will he belongs.

So we invite you to this Bible Study on the Nation, the State, and the situation of the Christian in this earthly commonwealth. It will serve as a basis for your decisions and your programmes.

I. "*My Country*" (*La Patrie*)

The French language uses the word *Patrie* (borrowed directly from the Latin "patria" and the Greek), and the word has a rich content. We use it in English in Patriotism (love of country), Patriot (one who loves his country), but for the most part we are inclined to use the rather vague term "country" itself to suggest "native land", "Mother-

land", etc. It is very frequently used to cover Nation, when also including the soil, the traditions, the customs, even the provincial landscape which was the setting of our childhood, the remembrance of joys and still more of sorrows lived through in common.

"Country" in this general sense is not found often in the Bible. But (cf. St. Mark 6:4) "a prophet is not without honour but in his own country, and among his own kin, and in his own house"; and again (Hebrews 11:14) "for they that say such things declare plainly that they seek a country . . . but now they desire a better country, that is, an heavenly".

But there is no material in the Bible for a study on patriotism. We shall learn under the heading *The Nation* what true Christian patriotism is.

II. *The Nation*

1. *Origin of the Nations*

(Genesis 11:1-9). The collective sin of mankind at the Tower of Babel is in its essence similar to that of Adam and Eve; it signifies or symbolises a revolt against the authority of the Creator—the desire to become equal with God. The punishment is the confusion of tongues, the dispersion "upon the face of the whole earth". This is the origin of the nations.

(Genesis 10:31). The nations appear here complete with their characteristics—"the sons of Shem, after their families, after their tongues, in their lands, after their nations".

It is made clear to us in this story that the origin of the nations is connected with sin. On the one hand, the nations are shown us as the means by which God punishes human pride by separating men from one another and by breaking up the human family. On the other hand, the very existence of the nations sets up a barrier to the free extension of that human pride which would otherwise lead the world to its doom. God *desires* the nations: He makes use of them to preserve the world—i.e., for those who survive even when men revolt against Him.

2. Some Characteristics of the Nations.

A Name. The founder's name: Jacob, Israel, Judah, Moab, Edom.

The name of a town: Sodom, Zion, Samaria, Babylon.

The name of a country: Egypt, Assyria . . .

These names are the signs of a *life*, of a collective vocation. In the Bible the nations are always treated as persons. They possess personalities; they are represented by an angel. (Dan. 10:13; 12:1)

Sinfulness in the sight of God. This sin which provokes the judgment of God is essentially pride. For Assyria and Babylon (Isaiah 10:13) for Egypt (Ezek. 29), etc. This pride is revolt against God's sovereignty, a trust in idols made by man's hands. (Isaiah 44:12-20; Jeremiah 51:12) Or it may be violence against Israel, and opposition to the chosen people, is an insult to the power of God. (Jeremiah 50:51) It is thus that the nations reject the Lord and His Anointed. (Psalm 2) God may use one nation against another to punish that one which has sinned, even though it be Israel.

Within the nation, men are bound to one another in God's sight; the sin of one is the sin of all, the repentance of one may save all. In Egypt all are guilty, and the entire people smitten with the ten plagues because of the hardness of Pharaoh's heart. All are penitent in Nineveh at the preaching of the prophet Jonah (Jonah 3:3-9). They may be pardoned together, as in Sodom ten righteous men sufficed for the whole town to be saved (Genesis 18:22-32; Jeremiah 5:1).

This national collectivity is of great value to God. It has been said: "God thinks in terms of the nation". The nation is as real as the individual, and we exist in God's sight not less as members of a nation than as individuals, since every man belongs to a nation until the coming of the Kingdom of God.

3. *One Chosen People.*

The Hebrew people, of the seed of Abraham, is alone chosen (Genesis 12:1-2). This selection is exclusive (Deut. 10:15; Jeremiah 31:1-3; Isaiah 49:14-23; Romans 11:23): it is an election by grace alone (Deut. 7:6-7).

In this nation are other nations blest (Genesis 18:18): because in this nation is consummated the incarnation of the Messiah.

This heritage of "election" has been passed on to the Church today (I Peter 2:9-10)—"an holy nation, a peculiar people", which transcends all the nations and recruits its members from each (Galatians 3:28).

So no nation today can call itself the chosen nation, favoured by God. Every nation is sinful and called to repentance; it will be saved if it repent and believe like the rest. Jesus Christ died for the nations, for *all* nations, even as He died for individuals.

4. *The Duration of the Nations.*

We live in the period of nations (Luke 21:23). This period will come to an end, and the nations will assemble in the Holy City, where "their glory and their honour shall be brought" (Revelation 21:24). Redemption shall be extended to them, they will be healed, and they will walk in the light of Jesus Christ (Revelation 22:2). This fact, important, essential though it be, of the division of men into nations, yet remains a transitory fact. It is limited by the working of God, in space to the Church, in time to the coming of the Kingdom.

5. *The Place of the Christian in the Nation.*

The Christian is set in a world, he is a citizen of a nation. He is bound to that nation and shares its fate. It contains the heritage of his fathers, and he loves it. Israel, to be sure, cannot be identified with any other nation, since it is God's peculiar people, and in ancient times it was already the Church. But at the same time it is the nation of the Hebrews, and the Hebrews love it as such. Cries of

love echo through the Prophets, as in Lamentations. For Jerusalem is guilty and laid waste. And over the ruin that was to come on Jerusalem Jesus wept. (Luke 19:41-44)

The Christian knows that his nation has sinned, as others have done. He must not romanticise it, or adopt a mystical patriotism; he must not believe it is superior to others, but must love it as he loves the "house of his fathers" because it is his own, and because God set him in it—it is his country. His "fatherland", his nation is for the Christian as for other men his home on this earth, necessary both materially and spiritually. If he is deprived of this, he is a stranger and wanderer on the earth.

But at the same time, the Christian is not of this world; he has another "country" which calls him (Hebrews 11:16), "a better country, a city which hath foundations, whose builder and maker is God" (Hebrews 11:10). Therefore he is always a stranger and a pilgrim on earth.

III. *The State*

The State is the *legislative* organ by which a nation affirms its sovereignty, assures its security, maintains order and justice.

The Bible, and above all the New Testament, is much more explicit about the State than about the nation. In fact the State is the organised nation, the power with which one has to deal, with regard to which one must determine one's position. The Bible tells us that the authority of the State is willed by God for a particular end. The State then has a vocation whose object is the *Common Good* (I Timothy 2:2).

1. *Origin of the State*: the source of its authority.—God is the only Lord of heaven and earth (St. Matt. 11:25), the King of kings, the Lord of lords. (I Timothy 2:2)

Moses, Joshua, and the Judges, all hold their authority by a direct call, and by the designation of God (Exodus 3:10; Numbers 27:15-23; Judges 2:16, 18). It is through God and for God that they govern the people. They are priests as well as political chiefs. We are really concerned with a theocracy.

But Israel once more rebels against God; demanding a king "that we also may be like all the nations" (I Samuel 8). This is the origin of the State as we find it in the Bible. God pays heed to this rebellion and gives the people a king, who will be His Anointed, that is to say the representative of His sovereignty. But He also warns them of the tyrannical authority of this king. God alone is Lord, and all authority comes from Him (Romans 13:1). He has instituted the authority of the State, He delegates authority to the State and to its magistrates (Romans 13:4).

* * *

God is no longer the political ruler of men: theocracy is not a modern form of government. His kingdom does not manifest itself visibly to this sinful world (St. John 18:36). It will only be manifested at the coming of the Kingdom.

We must accept the State as coming from God. Further, the State is for the most part unaware that it holds its authority from God. (A trace of this is found in the custom of the coronation of kings, when the royal authority is transmitted by the Church in the name of God.)

2. *The Mission of the State.*—Paul says, "The ruler is the minister of God to thee for good." (Romans 13:3, 4)

This is astonishing when one thinks of the government of the Rome of Nero, of the contest of Paul with Roman authority, of the persecutions of the Church which sprang up at times through the reign of the Caesars. What is this "good"?

It is defined in Romans 12 and 13:8-10. "The good which the State preserves on behalf of God is composed of two parts, like Christian love: on the one hand, the rights of the individual; on the other the human community." The foundation of individual rights is found in the Golden Rule—"Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself, and . . . all things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them. (St. Matt. 22:39; 7:12). This rule is perfectly clear, for everyone loves himself and knows his own needs, and is therefore well aware of his neighbour's needs: "Man's duty is determined by his neigh-

bour's rights, as he would perceive them if he were in his neighbour's place: the neighbour's rights are therefore considered as his due. To love one's neighbour as oneself is to realise that his rights impose a duty. We have made a mistake in allowing our notion of our neighbour's rights to become narrow; sometimes the word has even been stigmatised as if the natural man abused it, because he had always on his lips his own rights, and never his duties in his heart. Let us rather reflect how the Gospels have reversed this idea: not so as to suppress the notion of right, but so as to take it as the source of duty."

We are here therefore concerned with the will to consider our neighbour, to respect his identity, his originality, his personality, finally his person and his rights, and to respect them in such a way as he would himself wish them to be respected. This coincides with the legal notion of justice.

The second element of "the good" is the human community. The community also has its origin in the rule of love of one's neighbour, which "does not stop at considering the rights of one's neighbour but carries us on towards our neighbour, and aims at establishing with him relations which we may call, according to the aspects under which we regard them, relations of brotherhood, of solidarity, of fellowship. Christian love does not recognise man as living alone, it aims at drawing men toward each other, at creating between them bonds which are best described by the image of the body and its members which become a reality in Christ. Collective life must be so organised that the bonds of which we speak are, as far as it is possible, safeguarded or established. The current expression of the social organism must correspond to a reality, men must live under the rule and protection of the law, as members of a community."

This is all necessary for the structure of a society according to the will of God. This society must live in order and in peace (Romans 12: 17-21).

Paul adds that the Christian's prayer for those in authority asks "that we may lead a quiet and peaceable life in all godliness and honesty." This then means the

maintenance of order in the city, and that not to achieve a middle class standard of comfort, but because it is "good and acceptable in the sight of God our Saviour, who will have all men to be saved, and to come unto the knowledge of the truth."

This harmony and order will not be established with the good will of all men who are sinners. The State has lawful means of restraint; it bears a sword (Romans 13:4) in order to compel men to obedience.

We must not expect the State to act according to Christian standards, but only in its mission as the State. In this way the use of force, even to the extent of murder, is mentioned as lawful by Paul. God gives power to the ruler, even over his Son (St. John 19:9-11). In this God voluntarily limits His own power (St. Matt. 26:53).

* * *

This ordered life within the nation is then desirable in order that the Church may bear witness to it, may call men to the knowledge of Jesus Christ and to faith which is of primary importance in the eyes of God. So in this sinful world which no longer owns His authority, by His own patient working God ordains political authorities whose task is to maintain among men a certain harmony and order, which are not in themselves absolute, but which admit of men being called to salvation.

* * *

The Christian's part is not to accept passively all authority as being in harmony with the vocation given it by God. Nor must he make himself an arbitrary critic of all authority. He must not judge it after the standards of his own life as a believer whom Jesus Christ has saved. But he must judge it according to the criteria of the State as contained in the Bible, and ask whether it fulfills its function as a State.

This judgment is always difficult, and is perpetually prone to be obscured by preference or passion. The "discernment of spirits" is a gift of the Holy Spirit, given in the Church (I Cor. 12:10), and it is primarily the Church whose duty it is to make pronouncements, reminding the State of its mission as a State.

The prophetic ministry of the Christian remains necessary if the Church does not fulfil its prophetic function. Whenever the Church is unfaithful and keeps silence when it ought to speak, then God is always able to raise up men who can call back both Church and State to their proper vocation.

IV. *The Christian Face to Face with the State*

Here as elsewhere the Word of God is paradoxical. It disallows at the same time that easy conformity which admits human society to be sinful and outside the Kingdom of God, and the utopian confusion which would compel those who are not Christians to live as though they were, planting the Kingdom of God in this earthly scheme of things; the Christian course passes between these two errors; here as elsewhere there is a straight and narrow way.

1. *The Obedience of the Christian*.—“Render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar’s, and to God the things that are God’s” (St. Matt. 22:15-22). These words of Jesus show us directly that the Christian has to move on two planes; not that he can serve two masters (St. Matt. 6:24), but that his rights of citizenship in heaven do not annul his duties as a citizen in this world, and that his very obedience to God demands that he fulfil his obligations towards the State.

The Christian knows that the authority of the State comes from God. To resist it would be to oppose the order established by God (Romans 13:2; cf. Titus 3:1; I Peter 2:13-15). And the Christian submits, first through fear of the anger of God (Romans 13:4-5)—the words *wrath*, *punishment*, *vengeance* as found in our translations, point to the *anger* of God, that is to say His *holiness*, expressed in *compassion*,—and then through the workings of conscience: his obedience to the State is a form of his obedience to God.

This obedience takes concrete forms: the payment of taxes is the first (St. Matt. 22:21; Romans 13:7). The latter text refers to both direct and indirect taxation. This may also embrace a lien on his goods, a claim on his time and labour, service claimed by the State for the common good.

But obedience goes further than that. It passes beyond the material to enter the moral sphere; it demands fear and respect from the State,—terms used in the Bible generally with regard to God—as if to make very clear the fact that the State is to be honoured as the representative of God on earth.

Let us take note here that obedience to the State is not prescribed to the Christian as a submission in isolation. It is related to the submission of servants to their masters, of young people to their elders, of children to their parents, of wives to their husbands, of men to Christ and of Christ to God. And these must always be considered as reciprocal duties, never as arbitrary authority or passive bondage (Ephesians 5:21-33; Colossians 3:18, 4:1; I Peter 2:18, 3:15, 5:5; Titus 2:9);—and a subordination to one who is Lord of all (I Cor. 11:3, 15:28).

2. *The Prayer of the Church* (I Timothy 2:1). “The supplications, prayers, intercessions” of the Church and of all Christians must rise up towards God on behalf of the authorities; since it is of the greatest importance for the preaching of salvation that order and peace should reign among men, men must ask God for a just government.

It is good neither for the State nor for the Church that the State should oppose and persecute the Church. It is not for Christians to desire martyrdom. So they intercede with God that the State, conscious of its true mission as a State, should allow the Church to fulfil its mission as a Church, and allow Christians to fulfil their mission of witness.

This intercession, in order to be sincere, should whenever possible be accompanied by action. The Christian must be ready to play his part as a citizen in the State for which he prays. His citizenship will then be active, not merely passive.

When the State fulfils its rôle as State, the Church should give thanks, since it is “good and pleasant in the eyes of God”; and because by reason of the peace that follows, God can be preached.

3. *The Fidelity of the Church.* When it is affirmed—following the biblical criteria quoted above—that the State, disloyal to its true mission, opposes God, the Church must answer: “We must obey God rather than men” (Acts 5:29).

The Christian cannot obey when the State forbids the preaching of the Church—and the hearing of such preaching—or personal witness (Acts 4:1-21; 5:24-32). Peter and John answer this interdiction by their witness before the tribunal which commanded their silence. Paul and Barnabas answered by going to preach in the neighbouring towns (Acts 14:5-7).

The Christian may love his country with a filial love, yet he cannot obey when the State seeks itself to become an object of worship to its citizens.

It is the same when the Church creates a “mysticism” of its own, and seeks to impose it upon the individual conscience. We may not render unto Caesar the things that are God’s (cf. Daniel 3:13-18; Acts 12:21-23; Revelation 13:2-8).

The Christian can no longer consider that the State fulfils its ministry when it ceases to act according to the decree in Romans 12, that is to say when it ceases to respect the person and the right of citizens; when it divides its citizens against each other, when it is incapable of producing order in society.

We must note that on the whole a State is neither wholly just nor wholly unjust. It may be now one, now the other. The Christian need only oppose those of its orders which are peculiarly unjust.

In all exceptional cases, where the Church cannot at one and the same time serve its Master and the State, where its mission to preach the Gospel is found, it has no weapon but the confession of its faith and its loyalty to the commands of its one sovereign Lord. This loyalty without weapons may lead to martyrdom. The Church has received no promise of immunity, but only of persecution and martyrdom (St. Matt. 10; 16-25; Revelation 13:7). But it still possesses the promise of God’s love, and of the faithfulness of Jesus Christ who will confess before God those who will confess Him (St. Matt. 10:28-33).

4. *The Different Forms of State.* The Scriptures do not tell us clearly whether one form of State is more fitted than others to embody the authority which comes from God. Paul is satisfied with the pagan empire of the Rome of the Caesars, and sees in it the characteristics of an authority which is in conformity to God's will. It is indeed far more by the method of government in a State than by the actual political structure that the Christian conscience must judge that State.

Without doubt an authoritarian State is in greater danger from tyrannical power; while a democratic State runs the risk of deterioration of authority and of disorder in the polity. Both are capable of creating a pagan idealism.

The Christian—in the Church—cannot dispense with the labour of serious thought, guided by the Holy Spirit, about the authority of the State to which he is subjected, steering all the while a middle course between a comfortable conformity and a defiant criticism.

5. *The End of the State.* The Church rejoices in the knowledge that its Saviour has at His ascension taken all power over all the authorities and powers of this earth (Colossians 2:10, 2:15; Philippians 2:10-11; Ephesians 1:20,21; I Peter 3:22). If this dominion of the glorified Christ is not yet evident, it is because God, in the time of His patience, entrusts the State with the mission of maintaining on order on earth in which men may listen to the word of salvation. "Then cometh the end when He shall have delivered up the Kingdom of God, even the Father; when He shall have put down all rule and all authority and power" (I Cor. 15:24-25).

And the end of the State, like the end of the nations, is that heavenly Jerusalem which will not be a Church, since there will be no tabernacle there, but which will be a Nation and a State, a Rule, a Kingdom, a final City: . . . "The throne of God and of the Lamb shall be in it and His servants shall serve Him: and they shall see His face; and His name shall be in their foreheads. And there shall be no night there; and they need no candle, neither light of the sun; for the Lord God giveth them light: and they shall reign for ever and ever" (Revelation 22:3-5).

The Emergence of the Nation

R. G. RIDDELL

The witches' brew of violence, which has spread itself over Europe since September of 1939, was brought to the boiling point over a stubborn fire of nationalism. On the one hand, the war spirit of the German and Italian peoples had been nourished by promises of national redemption; on the other, the system of collective security, by which the aggressor might have been contained, collapsed beneath the weight of irreducible national ambitions. Yet the catastrophe itself is a sign of the obsolescence of the very nationalism which created it. Whatever "new order" emerges from the conflict, there can be no return to the political pattern of the pre-war years. The world has become too compact for rival national economies, and somehow we must be carried beyond the political unit which is called the nation. It is a problem which demands a more careful appraisal of the character of nationalism than has yet been possible. Which of its ingredients are so deep laid in the life of a people that it will risk the deluge rather than surrender them, and which are the results of a changing political and economic environment?

The evidence of history will not reveal any single pattern by which the term nationalism may be defined. It is usually associated with certain obvious unities, such as language, race or religion. But there are many examples of states which have fought tenaciously for national existence, though they accepted more than one language, tolerated deep religious divisions, and held together in a common loyalty many racial groups. Natural frontiers have sometimes provided a clearly marked geographical area, within which a national group developed, and the demand for "natural boundaries" has often been the cry upon which political causes were fostered. But the final defini-

tion must be a general one: a nation may exist where, by custom, the recognition of nationhood has developed.

The Rise of Nationalism

Modern nationalism first emerged with the appearance of the sovereign state during the Renaissance. Many of the attributes of nationalism such as the cultural and lingual distinctions, which today mark off our national units, existed in the middle ages, but they had never crystallised into the modern political forms. The inhabitant of medieval Europe lived in two worlds, one of which was much smaller and more immediate than the nation, and the other much vaster and all-inclusive. For all practical purposes, his political life was defined within a restricted area. His contact with the universal empires of church and state was mediated either through the hierarchy of the medieval church or the complicated structure of the feudal system. In his everyday life, the differences of language and custom, that marked him off from other men, were not of enough practical consequence to form the basis of political unity. It did not matter if his marriage customs were different from those of men he never saw, and whose sons his daughters would never marry. The political shelter which he inhabited consisted first of all of a tiny umbrella held aloft by the manor lord and village rector, and above that a vast canopy so large and so remote as scarcely ever to be visible.

In the recent admirable study by Professor Heckscher,* it has been made clear how the transition from the medieval to the modern world embodied a double process, the breaking down of both the particularism and the universalism of the middle ages. In place of the feudal community emerged the sovereign state—sovereign because it admitted no limitation to its authority, either internal or external. This sovereignty has been variously exercised—by despots, by oligarchs, by military dictators, by parliamentary democracies. But no matter what its internal nature, each modern state has possessed the same essential characteristic—within its own borders it wields a final authority.

*Eli F. Heckscher, *Mercantilism* London 1935.

This new political organism, the sovereign state, emerged because of the growth of a community of interest between two sections of the late medieval society, the king or the individual who held the authority of feudal tenant-in-chief on the one hand, and the trading class on the other. Improvements in communication gave to the trader and to the trading centre a new importance in society. The trader did not fit in to the feudal pyramid, and the town was a very unsatisfactory component in a feudal estate. It was natural therefore, that the traders who wanted freedom of the market over a wide area, uniformity of law and a central authority for the maintenance of order, and who also wanted a strong central government to represent their interests abroad, should ally themselves with a monarchy. The king had similar interests. He was engaged in a constant struggle to overcome the tendencies towards anarchy of the late feudal period and at the same time to protect the realm from interference from abroad.

The co-operation between the crown and the merchants in 14th century England is a good example of this development. For the merchants, the crown represented an authority who could help to secure a staple for them abroad, safeguard from foreign monopoly their wool markets in the Low Countries, protect their cargoes en route to foreign shores. The king could also relieve them from at least some of the local restrictions which had arisen within feudal England, and he could protect them from local tyranny. To the king, on the other hand, the wool trade represented a lucrative source of revenue, and the merchants were valuable allies who strengthened his hand against the feudal barons.

The Renaissance loosed many forces which encouraged the growth of this new sovereignty, within areas marked off by the existence of national characteristics. The invention of printing gave an entirely new importance to the colloquial language of any particular part of Europe. Dialects merged to form national languages, and a common speech became an important ingredient in the emergence of a state. The rediscovery of Roman law provided a legal basis for the sovereignty of the crown, and a sovereign

like James I in England claimed absolute authority over his people on the basis of legal principles much older than feudal law. The universal church of the middle ages also fell before the attacks of this new political order. In countries which remained Catholic, as well as in those which adopted Protestantism, compromise with the new authority was necessary. In both Catholic Spain and Protestant England the church to a greater or less degree, varying with the period, gave expression to national policy. The "national church", an expression which comes perilously close to being a contradiction in terms, was a product of the new conception of sovereignty.

The pattern of change was not the same in all parts of Europe. In England, for example, the power of the state never became completely subject to the control of one man as it did in France. In Germany and Italy the sovereign authority was accomplished within the small area of the feudal segments of the country, rather than within the wider area inhabited by the recognisable national groups of Germans and Italians. But everywhere this new order, the sovereign state, became the accepted political pattern. It has dominated the political scene for six hundred years.

Nationalism Becomes Popular

It is within the last century and a half that nationalism has become the possession of the masses. It is true that great popular enthusiasm has often supported the action of states in previous ages—in the expulsion during the 14th century of the English from France, for example, or in the truly national support which Elizabeth's government secured in England in the struggle against Spain. But not until the era of the French Revolution did political power become the ambition of the people as a whole, and not until then did patriotism in the modern sense of the word become one of the attributes of nationalism. It is significant that even where the liberalism of the French Revolution was thrown off, the idea that the state was somehow the possession of all its inhabitants remained. Thus, Napoleon became Emperor, not of France, but of the French, and this method of identifying the government

with the people was often resorted to in the 19th century.

Professor Hayes* has shown the extent to which this early 19th century nationalism was largely benevolent in character. It had at its root the idealism of the French Revolution. The French people sought to establish a government, based on the interests of all Frenchmen, in which all Frenchmen would participate. It was assumed that the benefits of this national growth, self-government and democratic control, were the prizes to be enjoyed by a people whose unity was natural, based on race, language, culture and the possession of a traditional homeland.

The ideas of the French Revolution were carried abroad in Europe by the armies of Napoleon. But before the benefits of this revolution could be enjoyed, the armies of Napoleon themselves had to be driven out by great acts of national liberation. Thus the liberal idea and the national idea became associated at the very outset of the 19th century. After 1815, national aspirations demanded the substitution of new national governments for the old dynastic ones. Hence, the association of nationalism with the equally revolutionary programme of the liberals continued. The great object now came to be the creation of a sovereign state for each nationality. In some cases this meant a unifying and expanding process, as in Germany and France; in others a decentralising one, as in the Austrian empire and Eastern Europe generally. Not until the liberal revolution failed in Germany, and the great national objective of German unity was secured by the reactionary and realistic policies of Bismarck, was nationalism revealed as a force that might have very little to do with the idealism of the 19th century liberals.

Self-determination

The fallacy that the satisfaction of strictly nationalist purposes would make for a peaceful world reappeared in the peace treaties after 1919. "National self-determination" became one of the principles of the peacemakers, and a serious attempt was made to carry to its logical con-

*Carlton J. H. Hayes, "The Historical Evolution of Modern Nationalism" New York, 1931.

clusion the 19th century policy of equipping each national group with a sovereign government. The fatal weakness in this effort lay, first of all, in the absolute impossibility of finding physical boundaries to sovereign states which would correspond to lingual or racial boundaries. A boundary is a series of fixed definable points in space, and there is no place in the world where racial or lingual groups are divided with such precision. The map of Europe in 1920 probably came as close to embodying a just application of the principle of self-determination as can ever be attained, and yet it left a continent festering with the sores of frustrated national ambitions.

A second weakness became apparent after 1919. The great objective of national self-determination had been realized for large parts of Europe at a moment in history when its continuance was intolerable. A self-determining nation is obviously a national group exercising the full powers of a sovereign state, both economic and political. The number of these sovereign states had now been multiplied. But the limitation of economic nationalism was imperative in the post-war world. A worse difficulty appeared in the fact that the system of international order, which was then being established, required for its success the abatement of national sovereignty. Here were contradictions, the result of which was the economic chaos and the international anarchy of the post-war period. The paradox has been resolved in bitter irony. Their hard won sovereignty has meant to the States of Europe no more than the right to fall one by one before the power of revived German nationalism, choosing only whether they would submit with or without resistance.

Beyond Nationalism

It is now clear that, whether we like it or not, we shall have to advance beyond the national state in the organisation of the world. This advance will be made either according to the German pattern, the establishment of control over large sections of the world by a superior ruling people, or it will be achieved by some method for pooling national

sovereignty upon a basis of agreement and equality. The first of these alternatives can succeed only through the forcible submergence of those elements in nationalism, such as lingual and cultural identity, which have shown themselves to be most hardy. The second offers the possibility of an international order within which the hard rock of national character may be allowed to remain. Stripped of the top-soil of political and material advantage for which people have looked to the nation state, this nationalism will probably undergo a significant process of weathering. But it must either be forcibly destroyed, as the Germans plan, or given a function within some wider order.

The effort to secure this international order must be made on a more realistic basis than in the twenty years preceding 1939. Nationalism was constantly under attack from many quarters during these two decades. It was confidently expected that the new order would emerge inevitably in the same way that the medieval feudal community gave place to the sovereign state. But the critic of nationalism failed to remember that the sovereign state succeeded because it produced immediate demonstrable benefits. An international order will establish itself only when it can provide the needs, and fulfil the ambitions, for which people now look to the national state.

Because the second of these alternatives is imperative if the kind of world we believe in is to survive, we must go in search of the answer to many immediate problems. How may a true international community be established while the individual remains secure in the community of language, race and culture which he has come to know? How can the conception of justice, in its widest sense, be placed in the keeping of a power which transcends our national states? How can the economic needs of men be met through the action of some political unit wider than the nation? How can the nobility and sacrifice, which is now at the command of the nation, be claimed for some wider human fellowship without betraying the community which now has reality in the experience of men?

A United Europe

S. B.

It has sometimes seemed to me that we might sum up the meaning of the catastrophe which is sweeping over the world, and taking us along with it, in this way: the sin of the weak and the cowardly is delivering them over to the sin of the strong and the violent; it is actually a double victory for evil. On our side has there not been disaffection, disloyalty, weakness? I am convinced of it. Our land of France—I said this to myself during the winter of 1939-40—our land, in the sense of soil, seemed to be less threatened than it really was. Hence, this weakness in defending what one believed to be but abstract ideas, ideologies. But I was wrong. The disaffection was revealed as far greater than that, once this soil was invaded; and this imposed upon us nothing else than the complete revision of the very idea of a nation. For the breakdown of patriotism, such as we have hitherto conceived it, is undoubted. There is a good deal of truth contained in these words spoken by an American: “This is a European civil war.”

If all these events may be summed up as a double victory of sin, ours as well as that of our enemy, then we do well to be humiliated. Do not, however, let us fall into that false humility which is far removed from genuine humility; in fact, it is the most unworthy form of hypocrisy, and we run the risk of losing in it the last shreds of integrity that are left in us. “Do not let us disown ourselves,” said Mauriac the other day, and I would add: “No false virtue, no false repentance, addressed to false gods!” Let us disown only what should have been disowned in any case, in victory no less than in the wretched position in which we now find ourselves. We might end by being forced to believe that the unpardonable sin, the sin against the Holy Spirit, is defeat and that all victory is virtue. What a per-

version of the truth! What an insult to the Cross! The Universal Church in so far as it is truly the Church, living by faith and inspiration, must measure all value, not by the ephemeral and often monstrous success of force, but by the purity of obedience, by the sincerity of its own harmony with the eternal will of God. Let us avoid shedding crocodile tears on the foot of the victor. "We offend none but God, and God alone pardons." These words of Frommel are worthy of meditation today.

And now what shall we make of the present and what does the future promise us? In the first place, have we still a reason for living? That is what I ask myself but it seems to me that for the Christian that question has no real meaning. So long as we live and the world exists, dark and incoherent though it may seem, we have sufficient reason for living. It is simply obedience to God to whom this world and we ourselves belong. It is but a question of finding our place and our task.

The Interdependence of the World

All our work in the Universal Church, all the exchange between youth groups across the world, is retreating more and more behind a veil of silence which stretches out like a fog, hiding us from each other. What has happened to our friends in so many countries who have been hidden behind this veil of silence of years or months? Will the consequence of this be the dispersion, the end, or only the slackening of our unity? Assuredly not. Even without taking account of the profounder reasons of which we have already spoken, I should be tempted to find one of these in the very cause of the silence. Have not these upheavals of this time actually proved the interdependence of the world? Or else whence arises the impossibility (of which we were conscious 20 years ago, but which steadily increases today) of limiting the conflict? The nations seem to be chained to each other, they drag each other down into disaster. One might thus state the paradox: national egoism is more and more impracticable, even while more and more widely practised.

If we turn to the future—and this always seems to me to be essential to give any direction, I should say any guidance, for the present—what are we to say? It is a very difficult question and yet I should like to draw a lesson from the recent past of which we have spoken, and ask a question. Is there only evil to be seen in this movement of disaffection, in this undoubted change, which we have noticed between the mentality of 1914-1918 and that of to-day? I think not. Is there not, here as in so much else, a disconcerting mixture of good and evil, of retreat and progress,—a change which God can in the end turn into a widening of horizon in conformity with his designs? In so far as love of country was allied with antipathy or hatred towards the foreigner, and found itself strengthened from that source, the movement which has taken place this year has been good. In so far as the absence of antipathy and hatred of the foreigner were chiefly the corollary of lack of attachment to duties near home, to loyalties necessary for the country, then it has been evil. Now if communion is possible in the Universal Church even across frontiers that bristle with defences, we should be all the more sensitive to the obligations and to the causes for gratitude inherent in our communion, as members of a diminished human group, whether national or confessional. But should we not think out all these human groupings afresh, in the wider framework of the entire world? Before everything must we not think out Europe afresh?

A United Europe

It is arresting to notice how far, by some mysterious necessity, certain ideas make a way for themselves, even across the most contrary theories! The idea which seems to me to have come to the light of day after a long journey through suffering and sin, is the idea of a united Europe. For a long time an essential obstacle has been the antagonism between France and Germany. A first groping effort of the Church after unity was suddenly stopped by the war of '14-'18, during which period Christians felt and stated themselves to be separated, and found that in gen-

eral a natural state of affairs. From '18-'38 a fine work has been done, in spite of the clouds which piled up on the horizon. From that moment Europe has been spiritually rent all the more terribly because material fusions have been produced by violence and intrigue. We are now at that stage once more, and this time we are moved to the depths. There have been immense movements of peoples right across Europe, in the Baltic States, in the Balkans, in Central Europe, and no doubt to-morrow in our own land. And I say that it is a terrible experience for those who have long worked with faith and hope, and in spite of every obstacle, for the unifying of the people of this continent—a terrible experience to see the realisation, in blood and sweat, of what prayers and love could not accomplish. But dare we allow ourselves to be dominated by the horror of what may seem but a sacrilegious caricature of the visions of faith?

I have spent many days seeking an answer to this question and freeing myself from the consternation which it stirred up in me. God does sometimes use Satan himself, in spite of himself to serve his purposes of compassion. Every form of evil and disobedience has led us Europeans to the present situation. In 1918 we allowed the poison of vengeance to enter into what should have been a work of reparation and justice. Perhaps indeed we thought in this way to avoid the return of an offensive which always threatened us, and this human calculation has cruelly deceived us. There was far less authority in our cry of *Halt* at the frontiers of France, because we had an uneasy conscience, because at Versailles our enemy had found natural supports and we had lost our most unassailable positions. The result was what I call a hideous caricature of the European dream, an unnatural union, realised in fear, in shame, and in brutality.

Finally, after weeks in which I drained this bitter draught to the lees, I began to ask myself before God what in other circumstances might have happened to Europe. Should we, without this restraint from without which bows us down in hunger and suffering (vanquished and conquerors alike—let us make no mistake about that), should

we have been able to cast aside the pettiness, the egoism and the pride which raise up deadly economic barriers to bristle across our unhappy continent? Perhaps this is an idle question. What the children of God have not wished to do, the sons of Satan are now in the process of realising. In making a clean slate everywhere, they have, though certainly not willing it, removed obstacles for the accomplishment of the divine Will. That is why we said earlier that often when their hour has come, true ideas make their way across those that are most opposed to them. We might truly say that this aim of a united Europe is ardently desired by all, and that in this there is more than a mere attitude of pretence: there is the recognition of a necessity.

Co-operation in Liberty

I have limited myself to Europe, because the problem is nearer to us in time and space, and is actually imposing itself upon us. But it is unlikely that it can be solved in isolation, and the "civil war" of which the Americans spoke may rapidly spread over the entire planet. This then is the fact: Men must unite. Their development, even in the art of self-extinction, makes this an inescapable necessity. How? In what spirit? On the answer to that question hangs day or night, the most shameful slavery, the source of corruption for masters and slaves alike, or co-operation in liberty.

But let us be clear about one thing. A united Europe, even a united world on the human plane, is still not the equivalent of the Kingdom of God. Evil will not yet disappear, only certain forms and expressions of evil. We have no illusions about this. Yet in a world where all life depends upon incarnation, every spiritual reality needs a material support. A united Europe would provide the first support for the development and action of the Universal Church. That gives the Christian sufficient reason to continue his work.

God be thanked for the progress, often enough ignored but none the less considerable, which has been accomplished in the souls of men; for the progress too in the Church,

as she becomes conscious not of her unity which is yet unrealised, but conscious as never before of her own unifying vocation. Doubtless we may be most fully aware of the immense distance still to be covered, of the gulf that still separates Christians of different countries and different Churches. But I assure you that there is no common measure by which we can compare the situation I knew forty years ago and the situation today. As one advances in life one can sometimes look back over a period of years and see it accelerated in the same sort of way in which a film shows the growth of plants actually taking place under the eye. Have you seen such a film? In two or three minutes, six months or a year in the life of a plant pass before your eyes, by a striking contraction of time which presents the plant actually alive and active. When I look back over the stages of the Ecumenical Movement since my first distant experiences of it, I distinguish as if I were watching an accelerated film, the direction and purpose of all its efforts, and I give thanks for a coming together in faith, which the slowness of the process conceals from the spectator of any one period alone.

All words of hope have today a curious ring, but hope still remains, and side by side with the present moment which absorbs us—or rather, beyond it—we can make out God's design which integrates this particular moment with the rest. The writer of a fine article in the Protestant press quotes the saying of Athanasius at the time of persecution, "This is a little cloud; it will pass"; and reminds us that beyond human optimism, which is always prone to disappointment, beyond cowardly pessimism, there remains the eternal promise of faith and hope and love.

November, 1940.

Unity in Britain: For What?

J. L. COTTLE

It is true that in Britain today the nation has set its hand to a task, and will not give up until that task is accomplished. Although at times defeat and victory may hang in the balance, for resolution is not enough, the national determination is maintained. One can only use the word "Nation" here because a huge majority of people are co-operating, not only as workers who are doing a deal with owners, or vice versa, but as a People who through all their differences recognise a common possession and a common vocation. The common possession is their British nationality with all its cultural, political and historical associations; the common vocation is their opposition to Nazism, a determination to defeat its aggression and to explode its philosophy.

Obviously, the unity that is acclaimed is partly a co-operation between groups which remain economically and philosophically antagonistic. But there is something to be recognised which is more than the strategic alignment of political parties, although the latter is a partial cause. There is this consciousness of nationhood. Disaster and death, beginning with Dunkirk, have liberated a consciousness of being one family.

There is a lot of cant talked about this family feeling: a lot of emotion is split over it which is a cover for self-seeking sectarian aims. Yet the fact of the national family is a fact that exists. Formerly, the fact of there being two Britains economically was the sole fact from which we started to think. Now there are two facts which must be held together, neither being allowed falsely to eliminate the other. Now in a belated way we are recognising that, way back at the beginning of any thinking we do, there must be an acceptance of the tie that binds us Britishers into a fam-

ily for better and for worse. This discovery is not just an intellectualist one, nor have people (like an Oxford poet trying to become one of the working class) deliberately joined the Nation. We have awakened to find ourselves one People in a way that confounds the cynics and the "Blimps."

What is the Value of this Unity?

Partly, this unity has the value of the herd acting in unison. Such unity may have value for the animal herd but has little creativity for a society of men. Danger has been looming up for some years. Under Chamberlain, this danger was faced by the British supporting like a herd the policy of appeasement. Then when the failure of that policy was apparent and the danger grew still more, the people, like a herd, turned on Chamberlain and rent him to death. Churchill became John Bull.

Partly this unity is a fight for self-preservation on the part of a human group. Although that is a more valuable motive than animal instinct, the result is likely to be nothing more creative than that Britain, if she wins, should become "top nation", or junior partner in United States (1943) Ltd. We have to admit that this present war is partly a fight for self-preservation, an either-or. Defeat by the Nazis, according to their actions and promises, will be the end of our national life. The realisation of this fact has caused contending groups within our State to combine to save the common life.

But this unity in Britain is not only the outcome of animal instinct, nor is it only the automatic reaction of the world's most extensive economic monopoly, in which every Britisher has a stake. Nor is it just a journalistic trick to show that the poor are willing to commit suicide with the rich. A common life has been recognised as a fact, which is the common possession of poor and controlling rich, of progressive and tory, of left and right. It has made these former groupings appear as only partly true, and as wholly false, if perpetuated as an absolute demarcation of man from man.

The Flower in the Muck

The herd will hunt and kill together, but in the face of overwhelming fear and destructive might, the herd can scatter. To say that British unanimity in the face of the might of German arms and propaganda is merely animal instinct does not take account of the action of the British people in 1940. The period of May and June 1940 was in Britain a time of cold decision and the weighing up of facts. The British have never perhaps looked so deeply into their own souls or asked such painful questions of themselves as they did then. There was at bottom a rational choice and an act of faith. The battle of Britain of September 1940 looks in retrospect like a mighty onslaught in which we had no time to think. But for those who lived in London in those weeks every night of attack was separated from every other by a lovely day of sunshine in which the attractions of peace could be viewed. Every night was separated from every other by fire-filled, body-hunting dawns, and dusks with their anticipation of the gruesome; both periods in which a sense of futility could either be accepted or repelled. The British maintained, and do maintain, their spirit with their eyes open, with conscious decision, not as an animal herd.

The element of self-preservation has been accompanied by something more. It was possible in the severe nervous reaction that followed the lull at the outbreak of war (when everyone expected and steeled themselves to meet a Wellsian end-of-the-world catastrophe), it was possible then to be cynical and attribute everything to the self-interest of an Empire and its ruling class. Along with a *phoney* war went *phoney* thinking. Now, the majority of men join in believing that much more hangs on our victory than the possession of power by the British Empire. This belief has grown during the time in which we have been fighting alone, and during the times of sober reckoning with reverses and the expectation of invasion to come. It is easy for the spectator to say that a man or nation is struggling for his economic self-interest, whatever his protestation of ideals. But it is not so simple for a man or nation to die

solely for economic ends. When a nation is facing the abyss and, as she struggles not to go down, has accusing questions which she never dreamt of forced upon her by her own conscience, she does not find it easy to die just for economic possessions which will be taken from her. A military dictatorship might avoid this crisis, but a democracy, even the type of democracy that Britain has, cannot avoid it. We believe that we are fighting, in our fight for self-preservation, for human principles of value, for the possibility of developing democratic political methods, in fact for the opportunity of extending the influence of democratic methods and principles. We who cannot deny the necessity of the war believe that, however bad a deal India, or our working class, is receiving from the present controllers of power, a worse alternative awaits them. Under defeat, for decades there will not be the possibility of just change.

The decision of the British people to say "they shall not pass" and their unity in the present sorrowful and outrageous slaughter have been accompanied by their finding their national self-respect. When the policy of appeasement was really known to be dead, a spirit swept the nation that it is hard to describe, but which the Americans and now the Russians are more and more experiencing and which, perhaps, the French may one day taste. Many found a moral freedom in the enforced breaking down of their illusions about human nature and affairs. Others who for years had been ashamed of British policy, who felt

"The dark cancer in my vitals
Of impotent impatience grope its way
Through daze and dream to throat and fingers
To find its climax in despair"

now found themselves with an opportunity to do what they had always seen as a necessity; to stop the growth of fascist power for the sake not only of themselves but of humanity.

Further, something of value has been found amidst our suffering and anxiety. So many have been bereaved and so many more have accompanied one another through an-

ticipation of disaster and the stern conquest of fear. Death, destiny and the imponderables have played an irrepressible part in peoples' lives without respect of persons, so causing respect between persons. Of course, much of the praise for the poor by the rich has been patronising, and has shown an ignorance of the struggle which the poor have for existence, even in peace time. Much of the admiration of the poor for the rich, for the latter have also had whole families wiped out overnight, has resulted in a detrimental weakening of working class solidarity. But whatever the hypocrisy in the West End, whatever the false sentimentality in the East End, a valuable personalism has been introduced into class relationships, the denial of which before was false.

The Shams to be Watched

In all that I write here, the question that is uppermost in many minds comes to me too. "Am I saying just what our fathers said in the last war?" Am I too riding the wave of chauvinist exhilaration on the way to the old trough of disillusion? It can be answered that there is a marked realism in the country which knows that we cannot avoid some disillusion and that the post-war struggle will be critical. But we have our utopians who have learnt nothing from the years which the locusts have eaten. Their sentimental descriptions of unity must be denounced.

There is the apparent unity that results from the Party truce. This truce is partly justified, for, if we agree that our main task is to win the war, an expense of energy on elections is unwarranted. But a Party truce must not be, as it is sometimes made out to be, the end of political discussion. The Party truce did not stop Chamberlain being evicted, and Churchill is still responsible to the country. Yet it can be said that the powerful conservative majority, since it could not, like an employer dismissing a troublesome employee, dismiss the socialist opposition, has chosen the employers' alternative line of action, which is to silence by promotion and flattery.

In the economic realm there is apparent unity where

there was before a struggle for power. It is a remarkable fact that in 1940 there were only two strikes involving 5,000 people. But to some extent this record must be qualified. The majority of owners have their profits secured through government contracts, most of these being paid on a cost and percentage basis. Again, the majority of workers are willing to let labour agreements slide in view of the "good money" which comes from overtime and Sunday work. And the campaign which claims to have achieved "equality of sacrifice" has not been successful. In spite of very severe taxation, the revolt against which is a sign of social significance, it is impossible to achieve equality of privation in the present set-up of society. Claims of achievement are largely pretence.

There is apparent unity that results from censorship. Some of this censorship is voluntarily imposed and is sound, for in these days of swaying fortunes, criticism has to be responsible. Such censorship as there is does not prevent outspoken criticism which has affected Government policy and has won back liberties that were temporarily lost. But the control has tried to cover up divergences of opinion so that "anything that presupposes change is banned", to quote an M. P. It has also restricted the supply of facts to a degree that has created rumour and distrust. As one paper said over the Hess affair, "never has so much been concealed from so many by so few".

Then there is the apparent unity that results from what Middleton Murry has called "the concubine existence" of the Church with the State. Vicars of Bray abound. There is rampant in the Church an identification of the victory of British arms with the victory of God's truth, and a blindness to any other evil than that which appears in Hitler and his following. This theological heresy, this prostitution of the Gospel, leads to pretence of unity which disgusts the soldier as much as anyone else. It is the most immoral feature in our war-time society. An exiled Pastor remarked that when he arrived in England and attended services in the South, he recognised all too fully those elements which the Confessionals in Germany had striven to defeat.

The Conflicts Remain

It is platitudinous to say that the pre-war conflicts remain, because the war is their destructive outreach not their solution. In fact, this war like all others, is an attempt to escape from conflicts which could not be dealt with in a more lawful way. Our national unity has put these conflicts in a different setting, but it has not eliminated them.

In the economic sphere those who would extend workers' control are in conflict with those who oppose such extension. In spite of the significant steps that have been taken towards socialisation of national life the persons recently put in charge of public utilities and large national undertakings are those who are already tied up with financial and industrial power. It might be suggested that Bevin has put aside his reluctance to introduce compulsion in recruiting labour because the workers show reluctance to strengthen the bosses while serving the nation. This class conflict, although it has been conditioned on all sides by the united national effort, still remains to be solved. That means that the problem of political power remains to be solved also, although at present we see the evil necessity of a coalition government.

In politics, there is a conflict between those who would plan and those who would not. But, as Mannheim says, the choice today is not between planning and not planning; rather it is between planning for democratic freedom and planning for retrogressive fascism. The need for planning, and a clear intention concerning the direction and values of this planning, lies behind the dispute between the Government and its critics over peace aims. Some of those who refuse to say what we are fighting to create are those who naively think that there is no other obligation than to win the war. Others, the vast majority who refuse to give peace aims, see the choice as Mannheim outlines it, and are subtly hiding their preference for the retrogressive direction. From that composite phrase "capitalist democracy", which holds together two now incompatible ideas, they mean primarily to aim at all that Capitalism or its post-war variants can give them, and to suppress the democratic necessities. The conflict ensues.

In politics, too, there is a deep disquiet amongst many over the dispute with India, which will grow as Indian opposition grows. It is difficult to see why the Government even to gain its own ends in the war does not redress the outbreak of war treatment of India, and make a special effort to overcome the present bitter deadlock. Its own position will inevitably weaken as its government of India, in structure at least (though not in aims and motive), appears to be a parallel to Hitler's government of France through Vichy. The Government, with some sincerity, refuses the way out of easy and empty promises, and it knows that all the fault is not on its side. But wherever the fault lies, it is clear where the responsibility for a rapprochement lies. Behind this controversy over India there is a conflict between two different views of empire and its future.

This political conflict means that there is deeper still a conflict over human values that remains to be solved. It is salutary, therefore, that the necessary conflict between Church and State remains in spite of the "Rosenbergs" in the State departments and the "English Christians" in the pulpit and pews. There are groups writing and speaking, not without influence, who have learnt the lesson of the Church-State conflict in Germany and the East. In the war struggle, which they support, they represent the keystone in the defence of human dignity and freedom. They have this importance, not because they are pacifist or are throwing over Theology for social action, but because their central affirmations are the Sovereignty of God's Righteous Will and the necessity of faith in an unadulterated Gospel. The issue in the world today is a theological issue, concerning the nature of Man, the World and God, so that these Christian groups in Britain, alone, have the unshakable reply to the might of false doctrines and worship. They know, too, that any national unity that is not based on obedience to God's Will and Word is "dead sea fruit". The Malvern Conference and other Church enterprises are significant not so much for their vague recommendations concerning social reform, as for their theological analysis, and for their being consciously part of a world Christian fellowship.

The Communists

It is important to state again that the conflicts mentioned above exist between people who are united in the prosecution of the war. What about the small group, for it is a very small group, that opposes the war effort? As some questions may be asked about it, some points need to be made. Until Russia was attacked, the communists in Britain have been openly following a revolutionary defeatist policy. Their ablest propaganda has aimed at causing Britain to lose the war. They are not, according to their analysis, pro-fascist or in Hitler's pay, but their tactics have aimed at helping German victory and democratic defeat. More recently, on top of the enunciation of certain truths about the nature of Anglo-American collaboration, they have done all they could to cause friction and distrust between America and this country. As followers of Russian foreign policy, they have been, until Russia was attacked, the appeasers in our midst.

The suppression of the *Daily Worker* was a crucial step in our history, but the only opposition amongst democratic forces was not regarding the necessity of suppression, but concerning the methods whereby the suppression was made. The paper was not suppressed because it had damaging facts to disprove the necessity of the war, but because of its cynicism; its lack of perspective which made out that an extra tax on tea was a greater threat to the working class than the approach of the Gestapo; because it used the just plea for higher wages to cause the spiral of inflation and the cessation of production. The paper was suppressed as a violent Protestant who speaks abusively in a Catholic quarter in Liverpool is suppressed—because he will cause a breach of the peace and because his continued liberty does not maintain democratic life.

The content of the Party's policy regarding home affairs, and the content of the programme of the Peoples' convention contain some forward-looking points, as the *Intercollegian* remarks. But the *Intercollegian* has fallen to the bluff. There is little to choose between a party that agitates for proper shelters and working conditions, its interest in

the conditions being secondary to its interest in victory, and the communists who agitate for the same things, their interest in the conditions being secondary to their desire for defeat.

Unity and Its Lessons

We can give thanks to God for our unity but we cannot claim it as a mark of righteousness, which implies that "Britain is different". Such a claim is a sign of the racialism and national idolatry of our times. We must learn that unity cannot be an end in itself, however much it has humanised and communalised our life. As an end in itself it is judged by history and Christian faith to be politically reactionary and detrimental to religious freedom. Wherever we see in Britain our national unity claimed as a sign of inborn grace, there we see Fascism. There we have the ruling and privileged class perjuring itself to maintain the present maldistribution of power. There we have the imperial and domestic *status quo* sanctified, and antagonistic to all freedom that might threaten it.

The question arises, "To what end will our unity be bent?" The answer we learn from history and Christian faith is that the end must be a juster ordering of the world and a greater expression of human dignity and community. Unity must arise out of moral perception, and must have an ethical purpose. I believe that there are characteristics of our united will which are ethical and show moral discernment. But this will for justice battles against heavy odds, both in the weight of our traditional lethargy and in the existence of men who, although they are no longer appeasers of Germany, still love the diplomatic sleight of soul by which right and wrong change places and principles are made to disappear. The lesson is that unity must not only contain an ethical purpose, but this ethical purpose must be accompanied by mental strife and scientific planning. The choice before us is "socialise or perish". We must plan to distribute economic power amongst the classes, to give educational opportunities to all and we must maintain and extend our civil liberties throughout the Empire. There is

much taking place in our life that augurs socialism, but that socialisation can still be National Socialism instead of a type that is really responsible to the will of the mass of the people. So although our unity is not to be scorned, its acceptance must not compromise our fighting upon two fronts. We must fight fascism at home and abroad. Also we must fight against idolatry of Man or Society at home and abroad.

Our unity has come with suffering and a shaking of the strongholds of vested security. The question arises "Can we seek suffering for that end?" It might appear that the possibility of just change exists only because of this terribly destructive war. The lesson is that we cannot find our national life by seeking to lose it. Certainly we must be ready to lose it at all times, and we may have to be ready very soon. Even although we honestly believe it to be God's Will that we should throw back the tyranny of Nazism, God might confound our interpretation of His Will. There is so much of evil to be destroyed in contemporary empires, nations and the Church. But the lesson of History and Faith is that suffering and insecurity may be creative only as they are the by-products of our vocation to serve God's Will, or to express more fully the natural laws of justice and community. We are finding already in Britain that not all suffering is redemptive and valuable, although we have tended to glorify it all.

The deepest lesson is that these and other insights are vindicated in the life of the Church. They can only be worked out in society, as within society there is a free and faithful Christian community. The ethical insight of the humanist is not enough, with its dependence for hope on its own sweet reasonableness. The saintliness of the sufferers in our country is magnificent virtue, but although it withstands the assaults of the Nazi enemy, it does not conquer the enemy within man. The stoicism of Mr. Churchill is grand in its disdain of weakness and death, but although it can reconcile Britishers to each other and to their tasks, it helps not at all to reconcile them to God . . . or to those who will at some time cease to be their country's enemies.

The importance of a faithful Church Universal and the importance of disciplined and witnessing membership in her life impresses Christians deeply in Britain today. We have talked for so long about the end of an era. Now its tragic suffering and turmoil is fully upon us. In the midst of the crisis there is a danger that some of us will lose the hope that is the gift of the Gospel. There is a greater danger that others of us, so busy with our allotted tasks of defence, will ignore in practice the depth of the spiritual crisis, which we have latterly apprehended in theory. Britain is in sore straits with the nazi enemy. She has within her national life and Empire immense conflicts, and she does not appear to possess the statesmanlike vision which their solution demands. This is recognised by most of us, but we need to be reminded also that man is in sorcerous straits in his conflict with himself, with his own instruments of power and invention, and with his spiritual environment.

Herein lies the importance of a confessional and confessing, a faithful and witnessing Church. The Church is more than ever needed as the conscience of society and as a pointer for men towards the things of their peace. We cannot claim that the Church is strong in this work, nor can we deny that the judgment of God is upon her for her part in the present impasse. Yet there are facts in the life of the Church in Britain and on the Continent which are grounds for true hope. There is hope in her courage to say things that appear to be defeatist but are the questions of God to man, in her awareness of the necessity of human humility and gratitude before God's almighty judgment and mercy, in her nurturing of men and women of faith, in her undeniably growing understanding of her own unity. In these dark days God can give through the faithfulness of His Church even treasures of darkness, and the valley of weeping as a door of hope. As the Church within the nations and across the boundaries between nations praises God in her word and work, His way may be known in earth, His saving health amongst all nations.

The True Church Within a Nation

A LAYMAN

I. *The Spiritual Results of the Church Struggle*

To one who surveys the situation of the Evangelical Church superficially it may well seem that the spiritual harvest of these tumultuous years did not on the whole come up to expectation. The astonishing outburst of the pure fire of New Testament faith was followed too soon by a reaction. The difficulties which piled up against these demonstrations of the will-to-a-regenerated-Church were too great, and too much was demanded of the physical powers of those who bore the responsibility. There was often, besides, a lack of leisure and quiet to make good the heightened output of human energy by the timely counterpoise of inner recollection, and of a radical growth of faith that would have given encouragement and preserved spiritual balance.

Above all it was inevitable, by the suddenness of events, and of the decisions upon them demanded from the Church, that splits and divisions were caused within the Evangelical fold, which did not always represent a break of fellowship on deeply scriptural grounds. In theory dogmatic conviction and ecclesiastical action might be closely bound together, but for practical life manifestly it was not made clear with equal emphasis that obedience to Christ demands the following of definite courses at all times and in all circumstances. In this way there came about what we have later come to call "the forming of wrong fronts"; Christian men who had the same spiritual background, the same assurance of salvation, and the same call to fellowship and service, were no longer at one in their judgments, nor consequently in their practical decisions. Hence they were, often against their own wish, in danger of losing the "unity of the spirit in the bond of peace". Naturally it was the

laymen actively involved in parochial conflicts who were first to feel this painful situation especially keenly. But the longer this situation lasted the more widespread was the harm done to the Church—a state of things which we have not fully realised until today. This is indeed a loss, when it gradually ceases to be possible to recognise the whole picture of Christendom in the variety of its spiritual heritage and its historical development. It is a pity when there is hardly any opportunity left to supplement or to correct one's own understanding of the truth by interchanging ideas with other seekers. It is a heavy burden on the devotional life of the small group when they feel that they have to deny themselves the possibility of meeting, in profitable and brotherly discussion, those who differ from them.

The Real Adversary

Another consideration is even more important. Did we face the real adversary when we entered the field against "false doctrine" as the enemy of the Church, and rallied all our defensive strength to master it? Did we not actually underestimate our task when we concentrated our attention on the events that took place within the confines of the constituted Church? They were after all only superficial symptoms and therefore presented the point of greatest weakness in an opponent in a spiritual controversy. Who in all the world was the opponent against whom we wished to measure ourselves, and with what weapons from the armoury of God did we contrive to meet the menace to Christ's fellowship?

It is possible that at that time we could not see the underlying facts so clearly; and it is quite certain that in the beginning we were not free to choose the point at which we should make our stand for the Gospel. Today, however, we cannot escape the impression that the real trouble in the Church was much too widely spread, and too deeply set for anyone to be able to diagnose it with certainty or attribute it to definite organisations and to unhappy developments. The whole Church—including our own fellow-believers—nay, the whole of so-called Christian civilisation, was no

longer what it pretended to be. Behind the façade of a seemingly ordered ecclesiastical structure, a highly developed synodical activity, a generally adequate supply of clergy and a flourishing central church management there was lurking corruption already in an advanced stage, the tragic fact of increasingly empty pews, time-serving preachers, a Christianity which had long since lost the compass needle of the divine truth and with it the power of discernment. Christianity had not escaped the fate of the various types of godlessness of our day, even where it complacently believed itself to be on the side of the true Church and to be serving the cause of God.

If this was the true state of affairs, our protest against the errors of others should have turned to personal repentance, our lamentation over the suffering of the Church should have turned into a missionary appeal, the famous “résistez” of the time of the Reformation, which in itself was biblically sound, should have turned into the apostolic attitude, “Be not overcome with evil, but overcome evil with good.” (Romans 12:21). Then the consciousness of our common bondage to sin would have driven us yet more urgently to the supplication of the Lord’s Prayer, “Forgive us our trespasses as we forgive them that trespass against us.” Then many things which later depressed us, and which were very difficult to alter, might have taken a different course.

II. *The Freedom of the Church*

And yet it was an unforgettable event, in the midst of all the sufferings and vexations of the Church, when suddenly the “Word” began to ring out again, as it had not rung out through the whole land of Germany for a long time, when God Himself, the living God, set out to break His silence and began to speak as He had spoken to our fathers. Was it not an hour full of wonder when we made this astonishing discovery: There is again a Church which listens; there are men who are beginning again to take God’s commands and promises seriously and really to obey them. It was, moreover, an experience of an almost parabolic significance, when

by the unanimity of the confessing Church the improbable became possible, and, cutting right across the variety of denominations, constitutions and regional particularities, there suddenly stood before us the unity of the Evangelical Church. It was certainly an extraordinary occurrence, an event which anticipated in more than one respect the developments in the Church that are still in progress. It was easy to predict that disappointment would follow very soon, and with particularly depressing effect, where hopes were raised too high by the gift of a moment. But the dawn of a coming day, which God showed us at Ulm and Barmen, confounding our diffidence and faintheartedness, has still retained its radiance, and shows us the appointed task of the Evangelical Church.

III. *The Poverty of the Church*

A clear summons has rung through the land, the Christian has risen from his comfortable couch and is rubbing his eyes. What he sees fills him with no little alarm—the real state of the Church. He sees not only how faint an echo the voice of the Gospel finds in the spiritual struggle of our times, not only the utter darkness that looms over the future of the regional churches. But rather he sees her helplessness in the face of the storm that has suddenly broken loose over her, her complete inner unpreparedness for the time of testing. Only later generations will be able to recognise in all their sharpness the causes of the Church catastrophe which is taking place today. As far as our generation can discern, the impression is involuntarily forced upon us that its age-long close connection with the monarchial state has deprived the Church of the Reformation of its freedom and of the spiritual ability to develop its own life. It is well known what strong moral impetus the Prussia of the Hohenzollern kings derived for the building up of its state apparatus from the roots of Evangelical piety grown in Lutheran soil. Only recently this has again been clearly depicted in Jochen Klepper's work "The Father". We had however lost a living realisation of the fateful consequences that the absorption of the Church within the sphere of political power was bound in the long run to have. For

eventually nobody was in a position to explain how the Word of God and the worship of God and the Christian fellowship really moved on a different plane from the secular authorities whom the citizen met on the parade ground, at the police station or in the government office. The statesmen did not know, but the high Church dignitaries sometimes did not know either. And so it happened that for innumerable Evangelical Church members, especially in northern Germany, the Church represented only the obverse of the coin whose face bore the portrait of the king. The pastor, the superintendent of the diocese, the member of the consistory, seemed basically to belong to the same public civil service hierarchy, from whose worldly representatives in the offices of rural administration or of presidency of provincial districts, they really only differed in type.

This undermining process of the Church is not only a "Prussian" phenomenon; its roots go far back into the sixteenth century. Otherwise Protestant Christendom would have preserved better the knowledge that the Churches of both Martin Luther and Calvin were in their origins community Churches. If this was so soon forgotten in the land which gave birth to the message of "the universal priesthood of all believers", if our lay members so often adopted an attitude of indifference, of dependence and hopeless passivity such as is not even the case in the Roman "Church of Priests", then this can hardly be otherwise explained than by the fact that the feeling of common fellowship was largely lost to the average Evangelical Christian. It was lost because the connecting link with the universal tradition of the old Church was broken in the conflict of the Reformation and Counter-Reformation.

To be sure, not much would be gained by merely correcting our understanding of the essence of the Church. What the Evangelical layman of our time most lacks is a firm grounding in faith in Salvation as preached by the New Testament. It is true that in many ways he still lives in the ethical tradition that comes from an original source in the Bible; he may even profess views whose "Christian" origin can be recognised by the discerning eye; but the Holy Scripture is strange to him and he no longer knows how to trans-

late the language of the "Shorter Catechism" into his own ways of thinking, feeling and understanding. The ideas of Goethe, Nietzsche, Hegel, Darwin, have passed into his world of thought; he defends the axioms of Macchiavelli, and transfers the principles of modern architecture into the spiritual realm; but the Acts of the Apostles, the Epistle to the Romans, the Revelation of St. John, lie normally so far outside his field of vision that he is not even familiar with their contents.

It is part of the spiritual result of these remarkable days of crisis that our eyes have been opened to see this poverty of ours. Whatever the historical background of this process may be, whatever the connecting link between the Renaissance and German idealism of the nineteenth century and the ideology of the present day, speculation about them is not the important thing. What is important is the simple fact that here and now a fundamental change is quietly beginning to come about. Not accidentally and not in solitary cases. Irresistibly the thought comes uppermost that things as they were have become intolerable. We shall die of hunger and thirst, we shall die spiritual death in the desolate emptiness of our hearts. We must have a truth that will support and carry us. We cannot always be merely seekers after God; we must find God. Nay, more than that, we need to know God Himself, to hear His voice and to obey His Will. Hence the general demand of the hour for Religious Instruction for adults; hence soldiers at the front gathering round the Bible in moments of leisure; hence an occurrence that would have seemed childish twenty years ago—men of every profession and level of education sacrificing time and trouble to get together and acquaint themselves with the precepts of our Faith; hence overnight the religious life of our contemporaries has begun to move just at that point where it seemed most choked, and from the depth of their desolation and despondency rises the yearning prayer, "Lord, teach us to pray!" These are only the beginnings of a slow process, possibilities and hopes rather than anything like recognisable progress. But God is at work, and therefore there shines about these burning questions and faint-hearted answers the whole glory of divine promise.

IV. *Where Is the True Church?*

Surely the breath of Spring has been in this re-awakening in the devotional life of the individual and even more so in the searching and groping of our whole generation after its own independent experience of the "Church". We know that without fellowship we cannot exist; we also know that even the richest life of faith becomes stunted and withered unless it remains rooted in the soil from which it took its rise. This has surely become a general conviction of Christians and an experience which has stood many a severe test. And out of that there arise at once the most disquieting considerations. From various sides questions and counter-questions are put to us which can by no means be treated lightly: Into which Church is it that God calls us?, they ask. Is it the *regional Church* in which we happen to be? This structure, made up of the most varied historical, political and sociological components? This medley of orthodox, liberal, pietist, dialectical, and German-racial pastors? This official apparatus, often enough without any close relation to the essence and mission of the Church, sometimes even without any relation to the empirical spiritual reality whose name it bears?

Or is it that Lutheran or Reformed *Confessional Church* whose particular tenets we share? That deposit from a past of very complicated dogmatic history? That heritage of heated theological contests and grave statements of faith, and also of periodic misunderstandings—for many today nothing but a museum piece out of long past centuries, whose interests cannot possibly be ours?

Or is it perhaps after all the "*oikoumene*", the sum total of all the Christian Churches on earth, as we might encounter it in the foreign mission field? A confused mosaic of all possible Churches, denominations and sects? The brotherly concord of Christian men on the basis of a simple first-century faith in Christ the Lord?

Or on the other hand is it the small *Fellowship circle*? A select body of the truly faithful? The free union of the converted and reborn? The appearance of the "people of God" on earth, which strives to keep God's commandments

and to honour His name in the sanctification of its whole life? The group, which is so small that it can be easily overlooked, but in which one can feel at home, because one is in the company of brothers and sisters who have found the same access to forgiveness at the foot of the Cross? Yet this is often an organisation in which suspicion never sleeps, fear than an unbeliever, an outsider, might intrude into the circle of the elect—the perpetuation of petty narrowness, spiritual unfruitfulness and conceit, a cul de sac from which there seems no way out to freedom or to truth.

Or is it an *armed opposition* to every alien intrusion into the Church? The liegemen of Jesus Christ, who will not yield to pressure, when the sovereignty of their Lord in His Church is at stake? Is it the community of the faithful, who would rather suffer great tribulation than recognise a government of the Church which does not do justice to the mystery of the Church? And yet we must admit that they cannot always avoid closing doors which should be wide open, and creating aloofness and erecting frontier barriers instead of following the command of their Master to cast their nets widely and save those who are lost.

The Marks of the True Church

Where is the true Church and what are her marks? Is it independence of secular power? pure doctrine? legal Church rule? an ordained priesthood? the right ministrations of the sacraments? the Holy Spirit? living fellowship? Is it outward marks alone, or inward, or both together? Or must something further be added which would ensure uninterrupted continuity through the storms of the ages, and would protect the Church from wandering into devious by-ways? Must we have the tradition of the Church, the unbroken chain that goes back to the Apostles?

But if we confine ourselves to the standard set by the New Testament, what does this sharp "no" mean which the Confessional Church has opposed to all the injustices and fallacies inside the Church? Was this once more, as so often in the history of Christendom, the attempt to create the original picture of the true Church against the background

of old decaying forms, and to give it a new form, which in a makeshift manner will fulfil the needs of the present? Was it an attempt which had of necessity to lead to the founding of a new Free Church, in spite of all efforts to avoid this fate, an attempt that would prove anew that Protestantism really cannot think of church history except as a succession of schisms? Does it not make it very questionable whether the famous “*recurrere ad initium*” is at all possible in the sphere of the Church?

Lastly, did the Church in that crucial hour lift up her voice in order that she might, with the full strength of the power of witness of her members, hoist the banner of the *Ekklesia tou Theou* which at all times and in all places surmounts challenges, judges and transforms our human, sinful, faithless, travesties of the marvels of Pentecost? Then the antithesis would not be: Here the “visible Church” and there the “invisible Church”, which results in some obeying the command of God and others resigning all idea of translating the third article of the Credo into practical reality. But the Church would be forever in a state of coming into being, standing on the defensive, struggling towards her proper stature, and purifying her preaching. She would then teach that *of herself* she by no means represents the Church of Christ, but while she has certainly forfeited the right to God’s approval, she may yet, in the name of the Crucified, appeal to the mysterious apostolic word from the Second Epistle to Timothy (2:13), “If we believe not, yet He abideth faithful: He cannot deny Himself.” She would be bound up with the history, the sin and expiation of the nation to which she belongs; a thousandfold betrayed not only by her enemies but even more fatally by her own followers and believers, watched with distrust if she always remembered her mission; persecuted by the world, which does not want her message; serving in every way where her service is needed; yet having her truth lived out at this hour by unnoticed men whose hidden loyalty prepares the way for any great future renewal of the Church.

V. "A Vital Movement in Christendom . . ."

Paul Schütz, that thoughtful writer of our day, said months ago, "Vital movements in Christendom are the only evidence for people outside the gates of the Church, that Christianity which was declared dead is still alive." If this is true, then the significance of the religious-revolutionary events in the Evangelical Church during the past decade cannot be over-estimated. Then also this questioning and searching, this passionate wrestling for truth is all part of it. Then it may be that the result of our limited thinking, unsatisfactory and controversial as it is, may help the people outside the Church, this questionable Church, to find the way to salvation and the temple of God.

We wished here to trace the results of God's guidance of His people. But we cannot really do this. In the last resort we are not entitled to judge. In the last resort God alone knows how much disbelief, cowardice, dishonesty, lack of love, selfishness and hatred on our part have once more marred what God has been seeking to give to us in unrecoverable moments of His almighty and merciful plan. But He also knows about every vestige of faith, which made a witness among the disciples of Jesus, every courageous confession, every act of confidence based on the unbreakable promise of the *one* Lord; He knows about the mystery of suffering endured, which has always in the history of the Church of Christ been the guarantee that the Word of the Living God has not returned to Him void, but has accomplished that for which He sent it.

We have been living through a time of examination and decision. Over it is invisibly written the verse from the prophet Jeremiah (21:8), "Behold I set before you the way of life, and the way of death."

What we have done during all these years ought not to mean anything but the resolve to choose the way of life. Therefore, at the entrance to an unknown future we must take from the Gospel, adopt for ourselves and the Evangelical Church, the confession and prayer of the suppliant father (St. Mark 9), "Lord I believe; help Thou mine unbelief."

The Nation and Control of the Machine

E. H. BURGMANN

The economic and industrial system that has grown up during the last couple of centuries has been made possible by the application of scientific knowledge and the principle of the division of labour to the processes of production. The machine has become the sign and symbol of this far-reaching revolution. The question of the ownership and control of the machine is the crux of modern history. Power resides in this control, and the future security and prosperity of the race depend on getting this power into the hands of men with a deep and wide sense of social responsibility.

The industrial revolution found Europe being organised into National States and the sentiment of nationalism spreading throughout the world. It was inevitable that industrialism should find its first political affiliations with these national states. It did not necessarily follow that this was a satisfactory relationship. Industry grew up within the national states of Europe, and particularly in Britain, because the most progressive peoples were found in them. As a matter of fact, as nationalism and industrialism grew to maturity, their fundamental incompatibility became more and more obvious.

Two Incompatibles

The national sovereign state in most cases gathered to itself an intense loyalty. The sentiment of patriotism took the place of religion or was the religion of vast multitudes of citizens. The ancient solidarity of the tribe gave place to the larger solidarity of the nation. A universal religion such as Christianity was compelled to compromise with

this intense nationalism. The spirit of brotherhood was in practice largely limited to one's fellow citizens. National armies did heroic deeds and won empires. Poets and artists were inspired to great creative activity by the sentiment of patriotism, and the world was shaken from its lethargy by the clash of national rivalries. The soul of the man lived intensely because it was confined within this manageable and understandable limited allegiance.

It would be strange indeed if such intense living and such an outburst of creative energy did not bring forth some immortal fruits of the human spirit. Every great nation of Europe has produced immortal works of art and has enriched the whole race of mankind with priceless possessions. The music, literature and art of Western Christendom owe much to the ferment of the spirit of nationalism. There is no doubt a heavy debit side in man's almost pathological concern for material things and in disastrous wars but even these must not blind us to the fact that nationalism has had a part to play in stimulating man to amazing activity.

As we have seen there has grown up within these national states the vast system of modern industrialism. The discovery of new sources of power and the harnessing of this power to modern machines put instruments in human hands which enabled the few to control the many in ways never before dreamed of. The essence of the machine is its universality. It works almost anywhere and it will work for anyone who will take the trouble to understand it. It was in the nature of industrialism to spread across the earth. The machine soon occupied the relatively small field represented by the national state. It pressed for wider fields. It needed raw materials from all the world and markets in all the world. It set no limits to its expansion but the limits of the earth.

Binding the Giant

What then was the national state to do with this great blind giant that it had nurtured and brought up? States,

such as Britain, which were early in the field tried to satisfy the demands of industrialism by the creation of empires. Empires, of course, were in existence before the industrial revolution but they now took on a new significance. Sources of raw materials needed to be guarded and markets defended. Armies and navies grew with the growth of the machine.

It is obvious that industrialism controlled by nationalism must mean disaster. Sovereign states, each seeking its own advantage, with the enormous power of the modern machine in their hand could not resist the temptation to use power in the national interest. It was taken for granted that national power must be used in the national interest. This could only mean international anarchy. There was no law or supernational order that sovereign states need obey. Self-interest prevailed. There was no power to prevent it. The power of the Church had long ago been broken and had never been very effective in the matter of war. Religion now tended to intensify the anarchy by feeding the spirit of nationalism. There were, no doubt, voices raised in protest but they were voices in the wilderness.

In the international sphere, therefore, no effective political control of the machine has yet been devised. Industrialism, which is simply the use of the machine, stands ready to enrich the world or destroy the world. It will do one thing or the other because by its very nature it is universal. It will be used to the ends of the earth. And it will be used for life or death according as man chooses. The choice and the power to put the choice into action is man's problem.

But even within the nation the control of the machine raised problems that man has not yet found the wisdom and good-will to solve. In Britain the machine fell into the hands of enterprising men who had strong ideas about the rights of private property and a strong love of freedom. They felt entirely justified in using the machine in their own self-interest. They bought labour as they bought other raw materials, in the cheapest market. It was only the unspeakable cruelties of this system that

compelled Government interference. Gradually the rights of the people to some say in the control of the machine became asserted. A long struggle ensued within the nation for the effective control of the machine. Labour organised itself into Trade Unions and by degrees the franchise was extended to all citizens. Some progress was made, and conditions were prescribed under which the machine would be allowed to function, but the effective control of the machine remained in the hands of the owners, a group of people, relatively very small, and not directly responsible to anyone but themselves. This limited democracy now finds itself struggling for existence against a totalitarian system which is determined to control by its centralised authority and in its own interest all the machines of the whole world.

Totalitarian or Democratic Control

The control of the machine is the element of discord in the present tragedy. Hitler is clear in his aim. He will match the universalism of the machine by a universal political control under his own authority. The world will be brought under the dominion of Germany and Germany will be controlled by the Nazi party. It is a totalitarian pyramid with Hitler on the top. It is a powerful idea, even if a very old one, and it will not be easily defeated. Its very simplicity is part of its strength. Incidentally, Hitler will solve the problem of national States by making them all subject to his will. Just how far national cultures would be allowed to flourish is not clear, but if they represented aspirations to freedom and political independence they would obviously be repressed. There would be a general enforcement of Nazi culture on the world. There is a strong and inevitable missionary note in Nazi sentiment. The Nazi god is very jealous and very suspicious and his gestapo is ever vigilant.

The democratic nations, now led by the Anglo-Saxon peoples, are seeking to realise another form of world government. They are aware that even within their own national states democracy is not yet realised. They know

that democracy implies an effective social control of the machine and it is possible that they may have to achieve this before sufficient energy and skill to defeat Hitler are released. But they feel confident that this democratic end can be achieved and, they hope, achieved without violence. They do not under-estimate the difficulties, but they feel that unless this further progress towards democracy happens there is a danger of the democracies themselves finding themselves fascist and the spiritual victory in Hitler's hands without the necessity of winning a military victory. The democratic spirit, however, is no feeble flickering thing. It is alive with the strength of men who love freedom and have no intention of submitting to any form of tyranny. They feel also, however vaguely, that democracy is the form that the Christian faith inspires. To aim at less than this is to fall short of the best they know. It is along these lines, their intuitions tell them, that a world organisation can be discovered that will in due time enable free men to get together and work together for the good of all. In the meantime they must create a force greater than that of Hitler's. There is, of course, the inevitable danger lest when they find this vast power in their hands that they too will be tempted to use it unjustly, in their own interests. Unregenerate man is not competent to handle great power, and yet great power is in the hands of men for better or worse.

Democracy is not at all likely to realise itself apart from the inspiration of the Christian faith and it will certainly not retain the salt of life without such continued Christian stimulation. The only thing that can save this world war from being just one more sordid and bloody struggle for power is for the Christian Church to see that democracy is rightly related to its sources of spiritual energy. Is a divided Church sufficient for these things? Can she release in the world that power of God by which man may be renewed for sustained and high endeavour in the days to come?

THE EDITOR'S TRAVEL DIARY

Southward Ho!

The war zone begins as you pass the statue of Liberty. Half a dozen battered little freighters, bearing the proud name Suomi on their hulls, remind us of a war now already forgotten by the world but bearing its bitter fruit. (A war, alas, reopened with a strange realignment of sympathies, and so these tiny craft no longer struggle to and fro with trade to keep a gallant little country going.) Then incongruously a larger ship appears bearing the name "Gloria" and the flag and sign of Switzerland. Only these two countries are named; all the other craft are painted a bleak grey and are carrying the gun astern, which looks no longer sinister, but madly courageous in the face of dive bombers, surface raiders and submarines. Suddenly a "flush" of destroyers, not the large funnelled ones of earlier date we saw not so long ago in Lisbon, but streamlined, fierce little ships, straining at the leash to begin the convoy. Then we are out on the nameless, characterless sea—anybody's sea—with man and his wars just here and there a tragic incident upon its surface.

It is strange to be so often the only man with a British passport, travelling under the protection of an alien flag. Italy and Portugal and now the United States have done me this service. At night the Stars and Stripes are floodlit—just as the Italian ensign was a few months ago. Either you blaze abroad your nationality and origin, or suddenly you conceal it. There is no mean between flood-lights and blackout. This ship is strangely unrelated to war. A fellow passenger dug me out to ask whether a series of lights well in towards the coast of the Carolinas was a convoy! The fact that it was a set of little ships with strong lights on their masts did not give him pause. Somewhat witheringly I pointed out that New York ate vast quantities of fish!

My steward at table comes from Baden, and we have happy snatches of chat. He gives me information about Jewry, and I about Christendom. We think alike on many things—American food and world politics. All the stewards must be American citizens, but as we look around he indicates German, Polish, Italian, Irish, English, Spanish, Javanese born. "It is quite useful: we never get a passenger to whom none of us can talk in a language

he understands!" I begin to see that the tensions within the W.S.C.F. are being lived out behind the scenes in this ship. "We get on well enough; we are very decently fed!"

After a week at sea, seeing nothing but water and a solitary bird, we encountered a cruiser, which decided to stop us. A sudden pride overcame me as I saw the White Ensign. Then I found that I had rapidly achieved a new prestige amongst the passengers, and latent sympathies began to show themselves. By an odd coincidence I was sitting and reading W.S.C.F. documents, and in my reflection I had got to the point when I blamed myself for being so preoccupied with present emergencies, and so little concerned with future plans. Then came the warning shot, and I was recalled to the present emergency! But the present emergency has always a wider bearing. The realities of shipboard are either trivial or eternal; you keep moving from the one to the other. This little incident reminded us suddenly of stern facts and terrible events upon the same ocean a few leagues away. I felt that afterwards some people would be more concerned—for a few hours perhaps—with eternal realities.

Five New Nations

They were new to me, and I found them new to themselves. They pointed out that their real history was ahead of them; and I with my mind full of history ending in Europe was quickly caught up in their enthusiasms. Of course I only visited five of the nations of South America, and the stay of three days in Brazil would have been an insult, if it had not been that the president did not see fit to admit me for longer. In Uruguay, the Argentine Republic, Chile and Peru I spent roughly a week apiece. I took no coloured movies; I called on no important personages, and on the one or two occasions when I met them, I could think of no suitable questions to ask! So this is just an instalment of my travel diary, nothing more, even though I am going to try and write within the general framework of The Meaning of the Nation.

I should say something more about geography before I go further. I fondly imagined that with my base in Canada I was much nearer South America than in Geneva—a very doubtful point. My Geneva visiting cards—economy plus acumen!—caused the raising of no eyebrows. Anyone might come equally well from anywhere to South America. The much more important question was Why? It is certainly boring to have large numbers of people visiting your country because it is now "so difficult to visit other countries". Happily I had the decisions of committees behind me, but

I felt ashamed because apart from them it might not have occurred to me to think of going.

Am I alone in this, or are some of my readers as ignorant about South America as I was? Certainly I might have been setting out for the lost continent of Atlantis for all the knowledge I possessed, as I stepped on board ship with my bag full of books, big and little, about Latin America—books mostly written I regret to say after the new passion for pan-Americanism appeared. (This doctrine seems to be useful practically, but rather absurd theoretically, and many people are concerned to justify the theory.) I conned the pages of my books in the brief waking intervals of ship-life, got clear in my head that the Rio de la Plata existed, and the Rio de Janeiro did not, discovered that no tropical rules for East of Suez applied to the climates I should meet, and gave up memorising the names of presidents and the various gradations of their authority. Did you know that the largest country in South America, being the United States of Brazil, speaks Portuguese because a Pope divided the world between Spain and Portugal on longitudinal lines in 1494? Portugal required sufficient space to sail around Africa and no one knew that the imaginary line would cut a piece off a new continent! Talk about "lebensraum" and "spheres of interest"—our modern ideas are puny! To fix the map of South America in my mind I bought a diminutive one in Rio made on wood, with every country a separate inlay. But all my rapidly acquired knowledge was thrown out of gear by taking to the aeroplane, flying from Buenos Aires to Santiago, and later on to Lima. Flight removes all sense of proportion; it is very upsetting to arrive too quickly at your destination.

Brazil

The mountains stand round about Rio de Janeiro, or thrust themselves up in the very middle of the sprawling city, like fantastic pieces of stage scenery. As I was shown the sites of two outbreaks of violence in recent years I felt that it would be difficult to preserve a peaceful life in a city of such dramatic possibilities. A great statue of Christ, floodlit by night, dominates the city from a precipitous peak. He stands there in blessing over this ancient port to which men came with conquest of arms, and of the gospel, four centuries ago. But I felt also that He stood in judgment over the city, and I found myself recalling that time when men took Him to the brow of a hill, and He slipped through their hands. Eventually they did secure Him and crucify Him on a hill top. I pondered this ancient situation as I set foot for the first time on

a new continent, on the other side of the equator, and I was grateful to the Church which placed the figure there.

Rio was full of other dramatic possibilities. At the quay lay side by side a ship which flew the Swastika, and a ship which bore the name of my native city as its port of origin. And in the streets there jostled men of so many races, jostled in a free sort of way, for this was not an Eastern city in which the white man was, or thought himself, supreme. (Incidentally the absence of sun helmets made me wonder whether they serve any vital purpose East of Suez, or are just a symbol of Empire!) Immediately I had the joy as so often before, of being welcomed by colleagues, and swept into the familiar and delightful round of visiting people interested in student work.

Another night on shipboard brought me to Santos with its long, and sadly empty wharves for the export of coffee. Here a plucky little Finnish ship, and there a brightly painted Dutch or Norwegian one, earning money by traffic in exile; and then suddenly a lovely Swedish sailing vessel, called into commission in a time when so many good ships are lying at the bottom of the sea. From Santos I scaled the heights to São Paulo in a diesel train, straight out of an English machine-shop. I tried fruitlessly to obtain permission to stay longer in this live, industrial city. I almost came to the point of wishing that I had been born in Canada or the States, for that would have put the matter right! But the momentary weakness soon passed and I settled down to enjoy the opportunities of meeting distinguished people, including two members of the Supreme Court of the state of São Paulo. What a difference it makes to be treated with courtesy, even if nothing can be done to help you. How strange to meet a judge with a very English face, find his mother was an Englishwoman, but that he could not speak the language. That is the triumph of Brazil; she makes Brazilians.

Uruguay

The title "República Oriental del Uruguay" has an exotic sound, which the country and the inhabitants belie. Henri-Louis Henrion, when he was General Secretary of the W.S.C.F. and wrote his interesting "Hundred Days in South America" spoke aptly of Uruguay as a "slice of Europe grafted on to South America". But it is no recognisable slice. You think you are in the suburbs of Paris, till suddenly a Sheffield tram-car comes hurtling round the corner. I was introduced by the hotel waiter to another "Englishman" and found he was a newly-arrived and most congenial Jewish

businessman from Vienna! Montevideo is a friendly city with that fine flavour of the world as a whole, which you find in the capital cities of small countries.

Uruguayan hospitality invited me at once to lunch on a piece of South American steer. With many qualms of conscience I feasted on a week's ration for a normal British family! The River Plate does not flow with milk and honey but with beef and corn; or rather it no longer flows, but is choked with them to the loss of Europe and its own farmers. It is probably easy to be poor in Uruguay, but difficult not to be well fed.

Like the Swiss, whose function in Europe they covet in South America, Uruguayan friendliness is informed and effective. Although the pedestal of the statue of liberty sadly lacked a figure on top, that was a temporary measure due to rust in the iron, and perhaps to some extent in the body politic! But the people of this country take freedom seriously, looking upon the great story of their independence not as the secret of national power, but as a covenant with men and nations who share the same ideals. When I say the people of Uruguay, perhaps I mean the spirit of Uruguay, for Montevideo is an international centre in which a man who takes a lead may have been born in the Argentine, or in Chile. They know what civilisation means in Uruguay and are not likely to confuse it with wealth. They took me to see the gate of the city with the marks of British cannon upon it—what the history book calls “concrete and effective influence”—and then they took me to see the English Church which is built upon a free gift of land, which is forever England. The nations which are not powerful enough to insist, but must persuade, have still one clear voice in the world.

The Argentine Republic

People had warned me that I should find Buenos Aires like New York and Chicago! Happily I again found a strong likeness to Paris with memories of the City of London in the business district. B.A., as my fellow countrymen most vilely call it, is an enormous city, and you must refer to its skyscrapers and its subways in superlatives, but it did not seem to me to be a city under pressure like its North American counterparts. Indeed I went about trying to find out what Buenos Aires did, except grow handsomely, and never received a satisfactory answer.

The Spanish bank, and the French bank, the German bank, and the London bank jostled one another in dark gullies of streets, while tram cars drowned their arguments, or broke their chilly silence, with persistent clamour. An enormous ministry of war was rising like a perfect bombing target in one square, and newspaper palaces posted

the fate of the "Hood" and the "Bismarck" on placards above the pavement. An excellent politically minded companion took me back to my hotel at night by devious routes, and indicated what form of revolutionary propaganda each light in a window, each knot of people standing in an entry, represented. Serene in the centre stood the little white "cabildo" or town-house of an earlier day. Here was a great nation in the midst of sharp growing pains, and yet remembering its origins. I had the good fortune to be there on the day of national celebration of liberty. (You meet a lot of these occasions even in six weeks!) I talked with students about other countries, and they were politely interested, but at bottom they were preoccupied with the great currents and events in the life of their own people. Without boasting, without enmity, they told me constantly that the Argentine republic was "different". Here was not "one of these South American countries" but a nation with a great future, and a present weight to throw on either side of the world's scale.

Capital cities seldom truly represent a nation, and least of all in a country of vast and fertile plains. I paid a visit to Rosario, where I dined with business men familiar with the household names in the sea-borne trade of my native city, and lamented with them the miles and miles of quays on the river bank with no single vessel being loaded. And the smoke over the city was partly the smoke of burning maize, doing duty for coal. Here were people less interested in politics and more interested in the resumption of trade. But from the windows of the train, and later from the air, I saw the level fields, and the great herds of cattle, and droves of horses. This is a land where the toddler need have no "scooter", for surely he will find a pony to ride. Just as the North American takes out his car to go a hundred yards, so the rancher lopes along upon his horse. In the strange habiliments of the "gaucho", the moss-trooper of the "pampas", you see the real man of the Argentine, and I came back again asking the more insistently what Buenos Aires did. I suppose the answer is that this abounding fertility gives a nation a peculiar sort of power in the world of which Buenos Aires is the symbol, though it is a frustrated power when other nations prefer to fight and starve.

The Cordillera

This word is so beautiful in the Spanish tongue, that I must use it for these amazing mountains. If Atlas had been able to lift the world by the scruff of the neck, he would surely have seized the Cordillera! They rise so high and they rise so steep, they seem to divide not only a continent, but the world in two. Do you remem-

ber how Hilaire Belloc first saw the Alps in "The Path to Rome"? I thought of that description as my plane flew over rugged arid lands to the unexpected oasis valley of Mendoza, and the great wall of the Cordillera thrust its white shoulders into a cloudless sky. Later the plane mounted up and up. Gradually it nosed its way into a gap in the range. The great precipices of Aconcagua looked disdainfully down upon us, like some great beast which had only to raise a paw and strike us to oblivion. At the summit we dipped a wing in strange salute to the Christ of the Andes. It seemed a prelude to some future consecration of this awful power of man over the air to the service of our Lord. Down we swept and swung, and, a little dazed and bewildered, I stood on the beautiful aerodrome of "Los Cerillos", the little hills, another liquid word which I found infinitely comforting after the awesome "Cordillera".

Chile

My first and totally irrelevant piece of information must be one that pleased me greatly, namely that the only queen Chile ever had was an English queen by marriage! She never saw the country, probably never knew anything about it, but the information was imparted to me with charming courtesy by a delightful lady at a Y.W.C.A. supper, which shows how useful these functions are! But Chile was like that. No one knew why I had come across the "Cordillera", there was nothing useful I could do, but everyone welcomed me, and gave me meals, and told me to come again.

It was to Concepcion that I paid my first visit, that city so tragically laid low by earthquake in 1938. It was there amidst ruins such as I had seen in France, and Shanghai, that I began to understand Chile. An act of God is irrespective of persons. An earthquake does its job more relentlessly than a bombing raid, but it leaves no spirit of resentment behind—only the child-like trust which builds again, and the magnificent courage of a people used to poverty and misfortune.

It was in Concepcion that in my search for students I began the policy of accosting them in the street. I wonder how an obvious foreigner would fare in Oxford or in Edinburgh! My inability to speak their tongue, my vile French, and my unintelligible English gave every opportunity for disdain. But Chile is a friendly country. Soon a little group assembled and gravely, by any means they could, gave me the information I sought. A baffled hotel proprietor tucked my arm under his and took me down the street till he found a bookseller who haled from the Kingdom of Fife! Later he secured for

me the services as interpreter of the commander of the local regiment, who turned out to be the son of an Englishman.

When you cross the Cordillera you find the traffic changes from one side of the road to the other, and your mind must change too. In Santiago, with its appealing air of impoverished grandeur, you can climb the little hill of Santa Lucia and see the monument to the Spanish "conquistadores" who founded the city. Spain lives here and the gallant way of life. Everywhere poverty and kindred evils raise their heads, but Chile is not to be beaten by these things. And when some one gave me a little flag to take home from the dinner table, I felt it was no emblem of foolish pride, but of indomitable loyalty.

Peru

Once again I flew over endless deserts which run down the slopes of the mountains to the sea. Only a lust for gold could have brought men to these barren shores, and held them there. At evening we came to Arequipa in Peru, and found we were to stay the night. What a lift there was in the air at 8000 feet, what rest for the soul in the many coloured mountain, Miste, rising above the city. I went prowling up the road beside running water in the moonlight. Suddenly the road ended at a grotto with a little statue of the Virgin; I climbed over the cactus-studded boulders and the silence of the night came and smote me in the face. A dark swift irrigating stream, led there long ago by Indian folk, was at my feet and behind that the desert sand, studded with the footprints of those strange beasts which men have domesticated in the Andes. Above the desert the mountains, and above the mountains the firmament with its stars. Now I had stepped into the South America upon which civilisations have risen and fallen, and it was in that moment I decided that this trip was foolish, unless I returned and really lost myself for a time in this land.

Lima, a royal city, the fount and head of an empire, this was what I had been waiting for. Partly it was buildings, all the glory of flaunting Spanish architecture; partly it was a mediaeval church which still holds sway. Pizarro stood in one square, and San Martin in another, strange companions! But both had found Peru a stronghold they must take. Peru is full of history, of that timeless history which has no beginning or end. I was taken out to a buried city and temple of the sun. I saw where men had hewn stones and built walls, which time could not destroy. I saw a pool from which sand had just been dug, and into the emptiness had stolen the secret waters from aqueducts laid many centuries before. I saw burial

robes of surpassing beauty, woven in pre-Christian days, and I was sick at heart that I could see, and understand, so little.

On the festival of Corpus Christi I stood in the great square and watched the procession pass from the earthquake-shaken cathedral in front of the solid-looking Archbishop's palace. Boys and girls in many attractive costumes, old negro women in white, tonsured priests with candles, and all to a solemn music. Men and women knelt in the streets. Many of them were genuinely worshipping God, others were out to see the show. As the Host reached the President's palace, he bowed and then knelt upon his balcony; the canopy above the Archbishop dipped in salutation. Church and state had met one another—for good or for ill?

Men have always found Peru a rich land, and its riches are almost untapped. I left the continent from the oldest country, and yet I felt a latent power. Oppression and suppression might be the order of the day, but once again the giant would awake and burst his chains. Some of the chains are forged in other countries, and some are forged in the land itself in the name of God. I did not find myself thinking of freedom but of sovereignty. What will men do with these latent powers? The future of South America is full of promise, and of foreboding. Whose shall its kingdoms become?

To the North

I climbed into a tall ship, which might have been a fine ship. Alas, when you examined it, its principal feature was a dining saloon, three decks high, and open to the sky, so that we might worship the unknown as we over-ate our meals! Always I had the feeling that the standards of North American civilisation did not suit South America. Europe has given these countries political intrigue; Britain and the United States "have developed their wealth". (Oh the joy of finding that the tug which put out from Talara was registered in Glasgow!) I am no romanticist; I do not believe that South American life is deeper spiritually than any other, and it is grievously at sea in the sphere of morality. But once again—is it a foolish vision or a prophecy?—one covets for these lands that they should become the kingdoms of our Lord and of His Christ. Only they have known Him and rejected Him; that is the exceeding tragedy. Will he come again in His great power and reign? That is the one hope of South America; and to prepare for His coming is the task of these gallant student Christian groups, of which I hope to write in the next issue.

R. C. M.

THE STUDENT WORLD CHRONICLE

AN INDIAN STUDENT OPINION

Resolution adopted by the Kandy Conference of the Student Christian Movement of India, Burma, and Ceylon, Christmas, 1940, on the national and international situation.

This Conference meets at a time of widespread national and international conflict and distress. Therefore it is very necessary that we should be thinking in terms of a new world order and its relevance.

"Two things that stand in the way of the needed change are imperialism and unlimited national sovereignty. We urge British statesmen to give a lead in the creation of this new order by dealing justly with the Empire in such a manner as to make it possible for India to take its independent place in a world comity of nations.

"We deplore the present situation in India, which has involved so many of our leaders in unnecessary suffering. We believe that if only British statesmen had declared in unmistakable terms their willingness to concede Dominion Status to India as a preliminary to full political independence, without making communal differences an excuse for delay, the present conflict would have been avoided. If this had been done India could have co-operated with the British in the cause of international brotherhood.

"We request that even at this stage our national leaders be released and be enabled to draw up a constitution to meet our immediate needs."

Chinese Students in Their Baptism of Fire

Notes of a talk given at a Federation discussion held at Poughkeepsie, New York, in December, 1940

Whenever I think of the present world situation my thought is all the time turning to the agonising and poignant exclamation from the very bottom of Jesus' heart when he warned His followers against indulging themselves in a Messianic somnambulism, saying, "I am come to send fire on the earth; and what will I, if it be

already kindled? But I have a baptism to be baptized with; and how am I straitened till it be accomplished!" (Luke 12:49-50)

What will interest you all the more, perhaps, is the fact that these two verses of the Bible were thoughtfully taken by the Chinese S.C.M. for the theme of the Student Summer Conferences throughout the nation in the year 1939 in the following words: "Chinese Christian Students in the Baptism of Fire". If you just allow yourself to follow me in my free association of the word "fire", my mind will take you with me in the recapitulation of the vivid scene of the first spark of fire in Marco Polo bridge, the fire that reduced Chapei into ruins in Shanghai, the Great Fire of Changsha and Canton, the conflagration caused by incendiary bombings in Chungking, the ruthless burning of houses and cities all through the occupied areas of China. It is in the midst of such terror of war, of struggle and bitterness, of suffering and hardship, that the Chinese Christian youths have discovered for themselves a new meaning of life, a new social perspective, a new Christian duty, a new Christian conviction, a new hope, a new experience of the vicarious atonement of the Cross of Jesus! Truly and wholly it is a real baptism, yea, even a baptism of fire.

Before the war, the Christian students in China were, as a whole, very much intoxicated by the deceptive, materialistic, and superficial sides of western ideas and ways of life. They loved foreign dress, craved for foreign food, spoke the foreign language and were satisfied only with a foreign house of modern conveniences. They were labelled by the non-Christian students "the running dogs of the foreign devils". While on the other hand, the non-Christian students, who were no less avowed worshippers of western civilisation, found themselves in a stronger manifestation in the national salvation movement. It was in the year 1922, in reaction to the W.S.C.F. meeting in Peking, that an anti-Christian association of a national wide movement was organised. Unlike the Boxer Riot this time the movement was led by the best educated intelligentsia of China. We must be thankful to this movement, because it certainly shook the whole system of Christian religion in China though not in the least sense weakening it, and set many a Christian thinking. Most important of all it awakened the Christian students especially in re-thinking their professed religious faith and consolidating themselves with new strength and new orientation. Social Reform program has been the dream and nightmare of all the serious minded Christian student leaders. Service and sacrifice were the slogans and dominating notes in all discussion meetings, when the first National Christian Student Movement

Assembly was called. Although an official organisation had not yet materialised, a consciousness of Christian fellowship was impressively registered in every heart of the members of the Movement. A keen interest in political development began to display itself in the policy of the Movement. Many students actually went into it for the hastening of the reconstruction of the people's life, although many still remained as Platonic advocates. There was a great proportion of radical elements who believed that only a social revolution could bring about the ideal society and that all reforms and parchment work were entirely futile!

Then, comes the war! All suspicion and antagonism toward the governments, and the central government in particular disappeared. Every face was shining with cheerful hope and radiating waves of emotional release! Now the fire was already kindled. Every young soul was ready to plunge itself into and go through the baptism till it be accomplished and go through it with determined convictions and undaunted courage!

Now is the time for the socialistic fanatics to clear up the ground for the new regime, to plant the acorn for the oak. Now is the time for the good Christians to show forth their sacrificial spirit and to practise their Christ-like love; yea, even the pacifists have no time to indulge in arguing the beautiful, idealistic and philosophical question of "non-violence" or non-resistance, but busily engage themselves in making bandages, and administering to the dying needs of the people and healing the bitterest wound of the soldiers! Every student eats all sorts of bitterness like chocolates and ice-cream! They walk the thousand miles (Christians only walk the second mile!), they sleep on gasoline boxes, they eat what is left over in the restaurants, they attend their classes under the trees, in the caves, they wash their faces in the lake, they walk on straw sandals and live a simple life that is denied every modern convenience and necessity.

Christians and non-Christians join hand in hand, and co-operate shoulder to shoulder in fulfilling their functions as citizens of the nation. In fact, all Christian organisations have been brought into closer relation by, and compelled to adapt a united policy in, meeting the overwhelming situation.

The University which used to be the hot-bed of the anti-Christian movement now asks for Christian workers to lead some student work in the campus. In the national Sun Yat-sen University, a Christian fellowship came to the world two years ago. The Christian professors have to serve in the capacity of preachers at the Sunday Fellowship Service, which has been regularly attended by

200 students. The National University of Hunan has a Christian Student Fellowship which initiated the significant common day of prayer for the Japanese and the Chinese students. This has been sincerely observed by both nations and other members of the W.S.C.F. with great spiritual value for the last three years on April 28th.

Terribly true is the old Chinese saying that men, at their own wits' end, send their cry to Heaven; and in their sickness, remember their fathers and mothers! It is in those trying hours of their history that Chinese people begin to look for some sources of energy without which they dare not to face the terrific conditions of life. There are the thorns under the rosy picture I have just painted about China. Their hearts ache and they have no peace until they find their rest in Him.

DAVID CHENG

The Orphaned Missions

From a leaflet sent out by Dr. A. L. Warnshuis for the International Missionary Council

The Church is the only international body that continues to function openly across national boundaries, in spite of wars in Europe and Asia. This is true of the Protestant Church as well as of the Roman Catholic, and it is demonstrated clearly in the organisation and service of the International Missionary Council. The relationships between the churches in all lands as they share in the world-wide mission of the Church are being steadily maintained. Correspondence between these churches is slower, but it is uninterrupted. By sustaining the "orphaned missions" without any discrimination of nationality or of creed, the universal Christian fellowship is being realised in practical united service.

The "orphaned missions" are those that the war has separated from the parent churches in Germany, Denmark, Norway, Holland, Belgium and France. No direct communication is possible between these churches and their missionaries, and no funds can be transmitted from these European countries to any of their missions. The missions of the churches in Finland are also included because they are still unable to resume their support interrupted by the war with Russia.

These missions are not really "orphaned", for the parent churches are not dead nor have they lost their missionary interest.

From all the European countries that have been mentioned amazing reports of continuing missionary activity are being received. Missionary conferences, summer training schools for teachers of missions and the cultivation of missionary interest in the churches have been carried on almost as usual. Even though everybody knows that no money can be sent out of the country, the income of the missionary societies not only has been continued but in some cases has been increased. In Holland, for example, the receipts of the co-operating societies in July 1940 were larger than in July 1939. There too the training of missionary candidates has been emphasised for the avowed purpose of sending relief to the present staff in the Netherlands Indies who are grievously over-burdened because they have taken over the work of the German missionaries now interned. When these recruits can be sent out is unknown.

Similar reports come from the northern countries. While church life in France is much disorganised, a committee is continuing to collect funds among the French-speaking churches in Switzerland for the missions of the Paris Society. In Germany also, missionary interest is at a high level. For example, a report recently received states that the attendance and interest at the annual meeting of the Rhenish Society in August 1940 were greater than for several years. . . .

About the quality and character of these European missions only the uninformed will raise questions. In devoted, faithful service there can be no invidious comparisons. In scholarship in this field our German friends have been leaders. As adventuresome pioneers, European missionaries have gone to every part of the globe. Missions in India were begun by Germans under Danish patronage. The Moravians from Herrnhut have gone to the icy coasts of Greenland, the fever-infested swamps of Venezuela, and the torrid zone in Africa. The story of the Norwegian and other missions in Madagascar is one of the triumphs of faith over most severe persecution. The Danish missions in Manchuria and Syria are examples of successful work. The French missions in South Africa, Madagascar and the islands of the south Pacific have had a notable history.

Nowhere have the results of missionary work been greater than in the Netherlands Indies, where the Christians now exceed in number the total of the Protestants in Japan, Korea, China, the Philippine Islands and all the other countries east of Burma and India combined. The Batak Church in Sumatra, with which the Rhenish Mission has been connected, with 450,000 members, is only one of three churches of that numerical strength in the archipelago, each

one of which has more than twice the total membership of all the churches in Japan. It is only in the Netherlands Indies that converts from Islam have been won in any considerable numbers. To permit these great missions to die of neglect because of a war in Europe is unthinkable.

It is for the sake of the younger churches whom these "orphaned missions" serve that the plea for aid is made. The purpose is not simply to keep the missionaries from starving, but the compelling appeal is to enable them to continue their work among the churches in this period of trial. Some of these churches are well established and strong and can maintain themselves, but most of them are small groups in the midst of non-Christian people and cultures that are overwhelming in comparative magnitude and power. They are indeed "younger" churches, many of them with a history of only one generation. For their lights to be snuffed out now because of the blackout in Europe would be a tragedy. To withdraw the aid of the missionaries, where still needed, and to allow these churches to become derelicts would be woeful.

These "orphaned missions" in the number of their missionaries and their annual budgets represent a little more than one-seventh of the total Protestant missionary enterprise. The loss of such a large part of the missionary force, even if it were evenly distributed over all the countries, would mean a very serious weakening of the front line of the advancing world-wide church. But they are not evenly distributed, and the collapse of these missions would be disastrous to the whole cause of the church in Netherlands India, in Tanganyika and in several other areas where it would be impracticable for other missions to take over even on a temporary and minimum basis the care of their existing work.

As a demonstration of the reality of the universal church the support of these "orphaned missions" is an inspiring challenge. For the purpose of practical organisation, special responsibilities are assigned to certain churches, and the Lutheran churches particularly are accepting responsibilities in caring for the Lutheran missions. But through the International Missionary Council the whole world field is surveyed and wherever there is a mission that is cut off from its home base help is being given without regard to nationality or church affiliation. . . . Despite this help the work as a whole has suffered: some lines of effort have been suspended; many missionaries have been in great need; large numbers of native workers have suffered seriously. At the same time, humbly and thankfully, it can be said that the essential work in every mission was maintained during the past year.

BOOK REVIEW

History Seen from Beyond History

It is an interesting "sign of the times" that several of the most outstanding Biblical studies recently published in Europe deal with the "last things". Sectarian groups have all too long monopolised the so-called apocalyptic writings of the Old and New Testaments; the book of Daniel and the book of Revelation have served as a starting-point for endless speculations and calculations. The Reformers, probably for that reason, have been over-careful in their approach to the Book of Revelation; it is the one book of the New Testament on which Calvin abstained from writing a commentary; the old discipline of the French Reformed Church made it a rule that the preachers could take their text from the Book of Revelation only by special permission,—to be secured from the Synod! And Luther went so far as to say that this book seemed to him "neither apostolic nor prophetic" (1525) because it did not speak of Christ in a clear and open way. Later (1545) he qualified this judgment but remained reluctant to use it, because of the manifold possible interpretations. Bossuet seems to us to have come much nearer the truth when he speaks of the Book of Revelation as "The Gospel of the Risen Christ". Perhaps certain weak points in the tradition of the Churches of the Reformation could be traced back to this lack of understanding of the last book of the Bible! The "Theologia Crucis" has become all too much a message of personal salvation. We have forgotten that the Lamb is holding the sceptre of the world and rules over all powers and dominions on earth and in heaven. We have ceased to read history with a clear consciousness that the world of nations has a Lord and King who sits at the right hand of God.

Why now this return to the great apocalyptic writings of the Bible? Why this renewed stress on "eschatology" (the last things)?

The first thought which may come to the mind of many readers is that a church under trial naturally becomes "other-worldly" and that this is a way of escape from reality. There is an element of

truth in such a statement and yet it remains a facile and unsatisfactory answer. We agree with Dr. Lilje that the real motive lies deeper: *times of crisis force upon us a quest into the meaning of History.* (Hanns Lilje "Das letzte Buch der Bibel, eine Einführung in die Offenbarung Johannes," Furche Verlag.)

Certain periods in history seem to stand in midday-light; they show little concern about past and future. This was true, according to Dr. Lilje at the time when Greek culture reached its high mark; or again, though in a lesser degree during the Renaissance and toward the end of the 19th century. "The spiritual atmosphere of such periods is so transparent and thin that any question about the meaning of history falls out." But twilight soon follows midday; great breaks in the development of civilisation occur and the hidden background appears, the underlying mystery of history forces itself upon our mind and thought. Whence do we come, whither do we go? Human wisdom knows of only two answers to this riddle of history: *the theory of progress;* and *the theory of an ever recurring new beginning.* The first is based on the optimistic hope of an improvement by which the oncoming generations may sometime, perhaps, know better days than we do. The second really expresses the aimlessness of all history. The former is an arbitrary transcription of Christian hope in the this-worldly sphere. The latter is the great Asiatic cyclic conception of life which makes eternity a frightful thing to endure.

The Christian answer is this: "*If history has no end, it has no meaning.*" The riddle of history can never be solved from within history; its solution lies beyond history. "History has positive meaning only if it goes toward a close." Christians, more than any others, know of the failures of history; in spite of all the great things the Gospel has achieved, if we looked at results in this world only, ours might be considered "a lost cause". But the whole perspective changes if we become aware that the historical mission of Christianity cannot be measured by historical standards because its aim and purpose lie *beyond history.* Therefore "the Christian expectation of the end is an inseparable part of the Christian faith in God."

The Christian faith proclaims that God is Lord, the Creator and Ruler who in His full sovereignty will bring the great drama of history to its conclusion. The Christian faith proclaims that Jesus Christ's work of salvation must be brought to fulfilment by the final destruction of the powers of death and evil. "The Lamb is the Victorious One." All power and dominion on earth and in heaven is to be submitted to Him.

This is precisely the message of the Book of Revelation. The message about "the last things" cannot be separated from the message of salvation delivered in the gospels. It is to be taken realistically, not symbolically, if the whole of world history is not to lose its meaning. For the goal of all world history is the revelation of Christ's all-embracing glory.

This is the perspective in which Dr. Hanns Lilje introduces us to "The Last Book of the Bible". The essential truth he wants to convey is that any sound interpretation of history implies the belief in its purposefulness, the knowledge that God's cause cannot be defeated.

The Commentary itself is worthy of the introduction; few are the commentaries of which we would dare to say, as we unhesitatingly do of this one, that they are fascinating reading. This is due to its beauty as well as to its deep and fresh insight. The author's claim is that far from being chaotic and obscure the Book of Revelation is the most genial of all New Testament writings in form and composition. It has, like the altar paintings of the Middle Ages, its central composition and its two wings. The figures are mysterious because no words, no images can speak the unspeakable and we stand on the borderline between time and eternity. And yet the pictures are sober as compared with other apocalyptic writings. Dr. Lilje writes like one who has really stood with the Seer on the threshold of the presence-chamber and listened to the choirs of angels. With him we sense the awe of the holy presence of the Lord of Hosts; with him we listen to the Sanctus "which has become a part of the liturgy of all Christian confessions and shines down as a ray of light from the coming glory and unity on the divided Church".

But never are we allowed to forget the concrete meaning of the holy vision. We are reminded that in the days of the Seer the seven churches to whom he wrote were faced with aggressive and idolatrous emperor-worship. We are reminded that the very words in the fourth chapter which to us have such a liturgical sound, "Worthy art thou" were the traditional "acclamatio" by which the victorious Emperor was to be greeted. Many other details are borrowed from the emperor-worship of the time. Thus the whole scene takes suddenly its full historical significance; John from his exile reminds the Churches that there is only One on earth and in heaven before whom they should bow.

Again, the description of the Lamb opening the roll sealed with seven seals, which He who sits on the Throne has handed over to Him, is full of imperial reminiscences; it is the solemn handing over

of power by imperial decree: the proclamation of Christ as Christus Victor and Imperator.

The following chapters remind us that the struggle between the powers of light and the powers of darkness will go on for some time. We are reminded that many shall be misled by the Beast's display of might; until the end comes and the Lord steps in Himself and gathers His own. Suddenly, after the drastic and bloody descriptions of the final battles the whole atmosphere changes once more and becomes all stillness and serenity; the Holy City shines in her dazzling beauty. History has come to its end, and we enter the realm of eternity.

Dr. Lilje leaves it most of the time to the reader to draw his own conclusions as to the relevance of this message for our day. But in his last chapter he summarises in three pages the confession of faith implied in those visions. "World history holds more secrets than our eyes can see and our hands can feel". The testimony of this last Book is first of all impressive by its *gravity*. It is a concrete and solemn warning: The Lord is near! Blessed are those who keep faithful to the last! It is a message of *consolation* to those who are tried and tested: *God's victory is certain*.

And this victory means that the hope the Book contains is a living power in our present lives and not only a vague expectation for a distant future. Eschatology is the completion of the Easter message. It tells about the end, about destruction and death, but what counts is neither death nor destruction but the dawn of the new day, of the new world which will never cease and never be destroyed.

We close the book with a tremendous sense of our calling; above the great stream of history which passes over us at the moment like a devastating flood, there is G O D who lives and reigns. And there is the company of those who have not yielded to the powers of this world and have on their foreheads the seal of the Lord.

We are told that this book was amongst the most widely read and studied in Christian student circles in Germany during the past year.

* * *

Another Commentary on the Book of Revelation came out a few months ago, this time in French and by a Swiss author: ("L'Apocalypse de Jésus-Christ, Commentaire et Notes", par Charles Brütsch, pasteur, éditions Labor, Genève.)

It is a solid book, based on a wide and thorough knowledge of the subject, yet written in a simple and clear style which makes it accessible to the man in the street; complementary notes of a more technical character are to be found at the end of each chapter.

It is difficult to be quite fair to this book after reading Dr. Lilje's. One feels that one is listening to a somewhat dry sermon after taking part in a beautiful liturgy. We *stood* in the presence of the Holy One; now we are *told* about the almighty of the Almighty; we are told about the right and wrong attitude toward Him. The polemical zeal of the preacher in Pastor Brütsch becomes in the long run a little tiring. My profane mind cannot help being obsessed after a while by the non-celestial vision of a dog keeping the Gates of Heaven and jumping on all those who approach too near its Master's mansion. And I feel like saying; "Don't worry, good little dog, don't worry! Your Lord's glory will shine throughout the ages whether you bounce and pounce or not! Won't you let us listen to the angels' voices?"—No it won't. It is its bounden duty to keep us from falling into any kind of ecstatic rapture. We are meant to live on earth, not in heaven, by faith not by sight.

The preface of the book is by Dr. Visser 't Hooft.

* * *

The Bible is a dangerous book nowadays and Habakkuk is among the most dangerous books of the Bible. More than one preacher got into difficulty and some went to concentration camps for having spoken God's word to Habakkuk to "this generation". Pastor Lüthi happily belongs to one of the two or three countries in Europe which still fully enjoy the freedom of the pulpit. He reminds us with relentless vigour of what it means to stand alone and cry unto God. He reminds us that nations are inclined by nature to believe in those who succeed and to move round with the wind. But the Prophet sticks to the Lord's Word. He submits to the day of chastisement which besets his own nation,—but he sees beyond it; he is given to see that the rod which gloried in its own might will in turn be broken. He awaits unflinchingly the day of his deliverance. He knows that God is ever merciful in His judgments. "The Lord is in His holy temple. Let the whole earth be still before Him."

This Book on Habakkuk is the last one of three series of sermons*. In his preface Pastor Walther Lüthi quotes a business man who, telling him about his many problems and sorrows, said; "I am in it. I must stay in it. But I see through. And to see through enables me to endure." This reminds me of another saying: one of my friends, after visiting Paris, made the remark that the people there have a peculiar gift of "looking through" the soldiers of the occupying forces—as if they were not there.

**Die kommende Kirche. Die Botschaft des Propheten Daniel. Dies ist's was der Prophet Amos geschen hat. Habakkuk rechtes mit Gott von Walther Lüthi.* (Friedr. Reinhard, Basel)

We Christians are aware that the whole earth is in the grip of an "occupying force"; Jesus calls its master "the Prince of this world". The Church cannot ignore that power and woe to her if she does! But neither should the Church let herself be over-impressed; she knows that this power is already defeated by Christ's victory on the Cross and that ours are the pangs of a final struggle of which the issue is certain. This is the message which stands out in Pastor Lüthi's interpretation of the prophets.

The very relevance of the prophetic message for our day remains a standing temptation for the preacher: he may so easily use, and therefore misuse, prophetic writings to expound his own moral and political convictions. We do not think that Pastor Lüthi has trespassed the limits allowed to a faithful exponent of the Word of God. But he certainly helps us to "see through" contemporary events. Daniel and his three friends remind us how the "Church in captivity" should stand, witness, suffer and pray. Pastor Lüthi's concern is to make his church a true watchman in the city, a true shepherd of the flock, and to gird the loins of the Lord's fighting forces for whatever the morrow may bring. But we are constantly reminded that the only victory through which we overcome the world is the victory of the Cross. Christ Himself stands with His own in the furnace and delivers His servant from the lion's mouth. The last apocalyptic chapters of Daniel speak of judgment but still more of hope. Here again we are allowed to look beyond the great turmoils of the earth, and Daniel's interpretation of history takes its point of departure in God's ultimate victory. Here again the message is a message of stern warning, so stern that the prophet feels faint and weak several times and needs strengthening (10:8,17); for long and hard will be the battle, and God's people will be tested as by fire (11:33-35, 12:1). No lasting peace is promised for this earth but the one which flows down from the Cross. All apocalyptic writings in the Bible are at one in their ultimate message: as her Lord overcame the world through the Cross, so will His Church enter His glory through ordeal and suffering.

* * *

Professor Oscar Cullman's short pamphlet (less than 50 pages)* on "The Kingship of Christ and the Church in the New Testament" is, in spite of its brevity, a substantial contribution to the much debated problem of the relation between the Church and the Kingdom of God; and again the clearing of that relation throws new light on another much debated problem: the relation of Church and State.

*Oscar Cullmann: *Königsherrschaft Christi und Kirche im Neuen Testament* Theologische Studien, Heft 10, Zollikon.)

The novelty of Prof. Cullman's point of view lies in the sharp distinction drawn between the reign of Christ (*Regnum Christi*) and the Kingdom of God. Christ at the moment of His elevation is given the name which is above all names; he is proclaimed Lord (Adonai, Kyrios) not only of the Church, but of all mankind, not only of mankind but of all powers and dominions on earth and in heaven (Ps. 110, Phil. 2:6-10, I Pet. 3:22, Matt. 28:18). To early Christianity this reign of Christ is not a thing of the future but actual reality: He sits at the right hand of God and God has given over all power to Him, until the final act, when the Son will give over all things to the Father who will then be "all in all" (I Cor. 15:24-28). This will mean the end of the reign of Christ and the beginning of the new era: the Kingdom of God. The reign of Christ thus covers a definite period. He is The One through Whom the world was created and redeemed (Col. 1:16, Hebr. 1:2, St. John I) and through Whom the new creation will be called into being at the end of time (I Thess. 4:16). The whole of creation shares in the fall of man and awaits its redemption (Rom. 8:21). But the decisive act of deliverance has already taken place on the Cross. It should be said, not that creation *still* awaits, but that it *already* awaits its deliverance. Since Christ came we have entered the "end of times"; we stand under His rule, whether we know it or not.

And this time of the "*regnum Christi*" is also the time of the Church. Both belong to the present realm and extend beyond that realm; they include the final struggle against the powers and dominions described in the Book of Revelation and the millennium in which the Church takes an active share (Rev. 19 and 20). This final struggle expresses in concentrated form a fight which goes on all through the period we are in. The whole tension of this period lies in the fact that it belongs both to the present and to the coming aeon. Christ has already overcome sin and death, and all powers that be, through His death and resurrection. They are *bound* but not yet *destroyed*. Christ's death is the central and decisive event which determines all history but this does not mean that there is not a development in time of God's plan of salvation. Jesus sees Satan falling from heaven and eventually speaks of the Kingdom of God as already come. The *Regnum Christi* cannot be inwardly separated from the Kingdom of God any more than the Son can be separated from the Father. And yet the Reign of Christ covers, in the categories of time, a definite period which goes from Ascension Day to the beginning of the new era.

If the Ascension marks the beginning of the *Regnum Christi*,

Pentecost marks the beginning of the Church. The tension which we have described as an essential feature of the reign of Christ also belongs to the very nature of the Church. She is the *waiting* Church, because of the Spirit of which she possesses the token (Rom. 8:23). She will share in her Lord's final millennium; the saints will sit as judges over the angelic powers (I Cor. 6:2).

Christ's realm includes all powers and dominions in earth as well as in heaven. This means that He reigns as Lord not only over the Church but also over the State. Prof. Cullman shares with Prof. Karl Barth* (as over against Kittell, Fr. Leenhardt, and others) the conviction that when the New Testament speaks of "authorities, principalities and dominions", not the earthly authorities are meant, but the angelic powers which stand behind these authorities, the earthly rulers being only the instruments of these other-wordly powers. These powers stood behind the rulers who killed our Lord (I Cor. 2:7-8) and in ignorance of God's divine plan thus settled their own ultimate destruction. They have already been overcome and are meant to serve the Lord's purpose; but they are still free to break loose from Christ's rule and control. This happens when the State trespasses its God-given function and makes itself equal to God. Then the servant of the Lord becomes "the Beast" (cf. Rom. 13:1-5 and Rev. 13). Here again we are faced with the tension of the Regnum Christi; the "powers" are bound, yet revolt against their heavenly Ruler remains possible (Rev. 20:7). What is drastically described in the final struggle remains true all through.

While the scope of Christ's rule extends over the whole world, the Church is a limited sphere within this realm, but it is "the centre and the heart of the Regnum Christi", the one point where the Regnum Christi becomes visible (on earth). Christ's incarnation has been decisive for the subjection to Him of the whole creation. The Church is described as the Body of Christ and is in a peculiar relation to Him; she shares in the sufferings of the crucifixion but also in the glory of her risen Lord, and undergoes therefore the living tension characteristic of the Regnum Christi.

As we have already seen, the Regnum Christi includes all "powers and dominions" in its realm, and among them the earthly State. This confers upon the State a specific function and dignity. The State may be a pagan State and therefore ignore the origin and nature of the power entrusted to it; this does not alter the fact of its God-given authority as long as it fulfils its function. But if the State becomes a deified State and stands up in open

*Cf. Recht und Rechtfertigung, Theolog. Studien, Heft 1.

revolt against God, it becomes "the Beast" described in the Book of Revelation, and the demonic powers, which hitherto were bound to a certain extent by Christ's power, are let loose.

The members of the Church have a unique responsibility because of their knowledge of the actual reality of the *Regnum Christi*; they acknowledge the dignity of the State, as no others would, because it belongs to Christ's provisional realm on earth; they are to warn and oppose the State if and when the State becomes an instrument of demonic powers, because they are the only ones to know what its true mission is.

The Church has a unique role in God's plan of salvation. God calls a People, Israel, but this People soon reduces itself to the faithful "remnant", until the Servant of the Lord stands alone for the "holy nation" and dies a vicarious death for the whole of mankind. This movement from the many to the One Faithful Servant is followed by a reverse movement from the One to the many: the Church is the Body of Christ and shares His vicarious mission; the company of saints is called to suffer with Him and to rule with Him. (Dan. 7:27, I Cor. 6:3, II Tim. 2:12). Christ in His incarnation fought a fight the bearing of which reached far beyond the earthly sphere. The same is true today of the testimony of the Church. (Ephes. 3:10).

The central place of the Church in the *Regnum Christi* is not dependent on her earthly success or failure; her Lord's earthly career ended in seeming failure. The only thing which matters is her faithful witness, her proclamation that whatever happens Christ is Lord: Kyrios Christos.

Prof. Cullman, a French citizen of Alsatian birth, for many years a member of the Theological Faculty of Strasbourg until he was recently called to the University of Basel, belongs to that bold and faithful group of theologians who, because they know about the "last things", also know how to stand firm and unabashed amidst the turmoil of wars and revolutions. He knows what the world—and, alas, certain statesmen—ignore: that under the *Regnum Christi* the adverse powers may revolt and seemingly rule the earth for a time, but that their days are numbered.

A French edition of his booklet is to be published soon. His thought is challenging enough for us to wish that an English translation may soon follow.

S. de D.